

# GEOGRAPHY OF EARLY BUDDHISM

BY

BIMALA CHURN LAW, M.A., B.L., PH.D.,

*Corporate Member, American Oriental Society; Advocate, High Court, Calcutta; Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Gold Medalist, Calcutta University; Author, Some Kshatriya Tribes of Ancient India, Ancient Mid-Indian Kshatriya Tribes, Ancient Indian Tribes, Heaven and Hell in Buddhist Perspective, The Life and Work of Buddhaghosa, A Study of the Mahāvastu, Women in Buddhist Literature, The Buddhist Conception of Spirits, Historical Gleanings, etc. etc.; Editor, Buddhist Studies.*

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WITH A FOREWORD BY

F. W. THOMAS, C.I.E., M.A., PH.D., F.B.A.,  
*Boden Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Oxford.*

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KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH, TRUBNER & CO., LTD.,  
38, GREAT RUSSELL STREET,  
LONDON, W.C. 1.

1932



**DEDICATED**

**WITH PROFOUND RESPECT AND ADMIRATION**

**TO**

**MY TEACHER OF INDOLOGY**

**THE LATE MAHĀMAHOPĀDHYĀYA DR. HARA-  
PRASĀD SHĀSTRĪ, C.I.E., M.A., D.LITT., F.A.S.B.,  
M.R.A.S. (HONY.),**

**A VETERAN ORIENTALIST AND TRUE FRIEND OF SCHOLARS  
AND RESEARCHERS.**



## FOREWORD

*The Vedic Index of Names and Subjects*, by the late Professor A. A. Macdonell and Professor A. Berriedale Keith, incorporates in dictionary form all the geographical information contained in the most ancient Sanskrit writings; it is furnished with references to the works of the scholars of whose studies it has formed in some respects the culmination.

For the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahā-Bhārata* the analyses of Professor Jacobi, with their useful indexes, had long been in the hands of students; and Sørensens' *Index to the Mahā-Bhārata*, now happily completed, had been since several years in progress.

In the year 1904, Professor Rhys Davids had projected, as an item in his Indian Texts Series, a dictionary of Pali proper names, and a basis for such a work has been steadily constructed in the indexes appended to the Pali Text Society's Editions. It seems that there is now good hope that the volume will actually be achieved. But naturally the geographical items will be scattered amid a mass of other subjects, and can hardly present a general view. Dr. Bimala Churn Law, to whom we owe so many investigations of early Indian conditions, and whose publication of a volume of *Buddhist Studies*, by so many respected scholars, is in recent favourable memory, has had the idea of assembling the geographical and topographical information in a somewhat systematic exposition. At this point Dr. Law has avoided a danger. For he might have been tempted with the domain of cosmography, which in Indian conceptions, as we may see, for instance, in Professor Kirfel's valuable work, *Die Kosmographie der Inder*, is so much interwoven with geography, and which is not unrepresented in the Buddhist *Pitakas*. Instead he has adopted the practical distinction of the 'five Indies', which has respectable authority in Sanskrit literature and is countenanced by the Chinese travellers in India. Under each division, he commences with a general description of the boundaries and larger divisions; he continues in dictionary order with the minor subdivisions, towns, villages, etc., and proceeds similarly through the rivers, lakes, etc., and the mountains. In a concluding chapter he treats of Ceylon, Burma and other extra-India countries; and an appendix discusses the import of the term *caitya*. Reinforced with an adequate index, the brief treatise, which is furnished with references in detail, will serve an useful purpose. The localities mentioned in the Pali writings (even in the *Jātakas*) belong for the most part to the real world; the cities

of fiction, so abundant in Sanskrit literature, appear but little, if at all.

Sir Alexander Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India* is based chiefly upon the Chinese travellers, taken in conjunction with his own great archaeological discoveries and the information supplied by the Greeks. It is a critical study and work of research, following the lines of investigation started by Sir William Jones and continued through Lassen, Vivien de St. Martin and Stanislas Julian. There have been other means of approach to the historical geography of India, such as the early surveys, of which the most notable were those of Buchanan Hamilton and Mackenzie, and which have culminated in the Imperial and Provincial Gazetteers, mines of information in detail. The surveys, however, like the statements of Musalman writers, are independent sources chiefly in regard to later times. For the early geography, since of Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* and the *Artha-śāstra*, we have now full indexes, and but few minor Vedic works remain unexplored, while the Brāhma and Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions are fully indexed,—the chief remaining desideratum would seem to be a collection of all the material contained in the texts of Sanskrit Buddhism and the earlier texts of the Jainas. It may then be possible to take seriously in hand the treatise on the geography of India which has so long been included in the design of the *Encyclopædia of Indo-Aryan Research*. The Archaeological Department is constantly adducing in its reports and in the *Epigraphia Indica* detailed knowledge of the most definite character in regard to both India proper and Burma, while for Further India in general we have the abundant harvest reaped by the French. Kashmir is in fortunate possession of the special memoir of Sir Aurel Stein, worked out in connection with its unique historical work, the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*.

It may be stated that there is still room also for a compilation from the Purāṇas, such as was originally contemplated by Professor Rhys Davids, and also, we may add, from the innumerable Māhātmyas. But perhaps, as concerns the chief Purāṇas, Professor Kirfel's before mentioned work has left little to be gleaned.

F. W. THOMAS.

July, 1932.

## PREFACE

This treatise attempts for the first time at presenting a geographical picture of ancient India as can be drawn from the Pali Buddhist texts. I have embodied in it the researches of my predecessors in this line as far as they are necessary to construct the geography of the early Buddhists. History and Geography are so very allied that in many places I have found it necessary to put in important historical materials along with geographical information. I have derived much help from my previous publications, especially from my works on the Kṣatriya Tribes. I have added an appendix on the *Cetiya in the Buddhist Literature* (published in the Geiger Commemoration Volume) which, I hope, will be found useful. I have spared no pains to make this monograph as exhaustive as possible. I shall consider my labour amply rewarded if it is of some use to scholars interested in ancient Indian history and geography.

I am grateful to Dr. F. W. Thomas, C.I.E., M.A., Ph.D., F.B.A., for the trouble he has so kindly taken to read the book and contribute a foreword to it.

BIMALA CHURN LAL.

43, *Kailas Bose Street,*  
*Calcutta, August, 1932.*



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## ABBREVIATIONS

AN.	..	Ānguttara Nikāya (PTS).
Asl.	..	Atthasālinī (PTS).
Bc.	..	Buddhacarita by Cowell ( <i>Anecdota Oxoniensia</i> ).
BS.	..	Buddhist Suttas, S.B.E., Vol. XI.
CAGI.	..	Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India Ed. by S. N. Majumdar.
CHI.	..	Cambridge History of India, Vol. I.
CL.	..	Carmichael Lectures, 1918, by Dr. Bhandarkar.
Cv.	..	Cūlavarṇsa (PTS).
DB	..	Dialogues of the Buddha (SBB).
Dh.	..	Dhammapada (PTS).
Dh.A.	..	Dhammapada Atthakathā.
Dh.O.	..	Dhammapada Commentary (PTS).
Dkc.	..	Dasakumāracarita.
DN.	..	Digha Nikāya (PTS).
Dv	..	Dipavamsa (Oldenberg's Ed.).
Dvd.	..	Divyāvadāna Ed. by Cowell and Neil.
Ep. Ind.	..	Epigraphia Indica.
GD	..	Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediæval India (2nd ed.) by N. L. Dey.
Hv.	..	Harivamśa.
IA.	..	Indian Antiquary.
Jāt.	..	Jātaka (Fausbøll).
KV.	..	Kathāvatthu (PTS).
Lal.	..	Lalitavistara by Dr. S. Lefmann.
Mbh.	..	Mahābhārata.
MN.	..	Mañjhimā Nikāya (PTS).
Mv.	..	Mahāvamsa (PTS).
PHAI.	..	Political History of Ancient India (2nd ed.) by Dr. H. C. Ray Chaudhuri.
Pss.B.	..	Psalms of the Brethren.
Pss.S.	..	Psalms of the Sisters.
PV.	..	Peta-Vatthu.
Rām.	..	Rāmāyana.
RV.	..	Rg Veda.
Smv.	..	Sumaṅgalavilāsini (PTS).
SN.	..	Saṃyutta Nikāya (PTS).
S. Nip.	..	Sutta Nipāta (PTS).
S. Nip.C.	..	Sutta Nipāta Commentary (PTS).
Sv.	..	Sāsanavāmsa (PTS).
Th.G.	..	Thera-Gāthā (PTS).
Th. G.C.	..	Thera-Gāthā Commentary.
Theri G.	..	Theri-Gāthā.
Theri G.C.	..	Theri-Gāthā Commentary.
VP.	..	Vinaya Piṭaka (PTS).
VT.	..	Vinaya Texts (SBE).
Vis.M.	..	Visuddhi-Magga (PTS).
VV.	..	Vimāna-Vatthu (PTS).
VV.C.	..	Vimāna-Vatthu Commentary (PTS).



## INTRODUCTION

1. *Sources.*—Pāli literature, in fact ancient literature of India is a vast treasure-house of information with regard to the geographical condition and situation of the numerous cities, countries, villages and other localities as well as of rivers, lakes, parks, forests, caityas, vihāras, etc., of the vast continent of India. It is not often that such geographical information is supplemented by historical accounts of interest as well; and when they are collated together, we have before us a picture of the entire country of the times of which this literature may be said to have a faithful record. Early Pāli literature is mainly canonical relating in most cases to rules and regulations of conduct of the monks of the Order as well as of the laity. Incidentally there are also Jātakas or birth-stories of the Buddha as well as many other anecdotes and narratives having obviously an aim or purpose. Texts or narratives of purely historical or geographical nature are thus altogether absent in the literature of the early Buddhists; and whatever historical or geographical information can be gathered are mainly incidental and, therefore, more reliable. From a time when Indian history emerges from confusion and uncertainties of semi-historical legends and traditions to a more sure and definite historical plane, that is from about the time of the Buddha to about the time of Asoka the Great, the canonical literature of the early Buddhists is certainly the main, if not the only, source of all historical and geographical information of ancient India supplemented, however, by Jaina and Brahmanical sources here and there. Thus, for the history of the rise and vicissitudes as well as for the geographical situation and other details of the Solasa Mahājanapadas, the sixteen Great States, the most important chapter of Indian history and geography before and about the time of the Buddha, the Pāli Anguttara Nikāya is the main and important source of information which, however, is supplemented by that contained in the Jaina Bhagavati Sūtra and in the Kāṇaparva of the Mahābhārata.<sup>1</sup> Even for later periods when epigraphical and archaeological sources are abundant, and literary sources are mainly brahmanical or are derived from foreign treatises such as those of the Greek geographers and Chinese travellers, the importance of geographical information as supplied by Pāli and Sanskrit Buddhist sources is considerable. The commentaries of Buddhaghosa and the Ceylonese chronicles—Dipavamsa and Mahāvamsa—for instance, contain information

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. PHAI., p. 60.

with regard to the contemporary geography of India whose value can hardly be overestimated. The non-canonical Pāli and Sanskrit Buddhist literature belong no doubt to a later date, but being mostly commentaries on older texts, or treatises of a historical nature they speak of a time when Buddhism had just launched on its eventful career and was gradually gaining new converts and adherents. The information contained in them is, therefore, almost equally useful and trustworthy.

It has already been said that early Pāli literature is mainly canonical. The huge bulk of texts included in it contains in each of them incidental references to cities and places in connection with the gradual spread of Buddhism mainly within the borders of Majjhimadesa or the Middle Country and the localities bordering it. For such information, the Vinaya Piṭaka is a most important source and it is here perhaps for the first time that we find an accurate description of the four boundaries of the *Madhyadeśa* as understood by the Buddhists of the time. No less important are the *Digha*, the *Majjhima* and the *Anguttara Nikāyas* of the *Suttapiṭaka* wherefrom can be gleaned a systematic survey of the entire geographical knowledge of the Middle Country, as well as of some other localities of Northern and Southern India. The *Jātakas* also contain incidental references to places and localities which add to our geographical knowledge of Buddhist India. Such incidental references can also be found in almost each and every treatise, early or late, canonical or non-canonical. But of non-canonical literature which introduces us to important geographical notices, mention should be made of the *Milindapañho* or the questions of King Milinda, and the *Mahāvastu*, a Buddhist sanskrit work of great importance. Of later texts, the most important from our point of view are the commentaries of *Buddhaghosa* and some of his colleagues. Mention must also be made of the two important Ceylonese Chronicles—the *Dipavavisa* and *Mahāvamsa* as well as the huge commentary literature of Ceylon and Burma.

Other sources from which we can gather chips of information as to the geographical knowledge of the early Buddhists may be mentioned the inscriptions of Asoka and those at the *Khaṇḍagiri* and *Udayagiri* hills of Orissa. Coins too, sometimes, enable us to locate a particular nation or tribe, as for example, the location of the kingdom of King Sivi of the *Sivi Jātaka* has been determined by the discovery of some copper coins at *Nāgri*, a small town 11 miles north of Chitor.

Chinese Buddhist texts, especially the itineraries of travellers, though later in date, are of inestimable value as sources of the geography of Buddhist India. Of the various Chinese accounts, those of *Song-yun* and *Hwiseng* are short and describe only a few places of North-Western India. *It-sing*

who landed at Tāmralipti (or modern Tamluk in Midnapur) in A.D. 673, gives us a more detailed account. He visited Nālandā, Gijjhakūta, Buddhagayā, Vesāli, Kuśinagara, Kapilavastu, Sāvatthi, Isipatana Migadāva and the Kukkutapabbata. But more important are the accounts of Fa-Hien and Yuan Chwang. Fa-Hien entered India from the north-west (399-414 A.D.), toured all over northern India and left it at the port of Tāmralipti. Yuan Chwang also covered the same tract (629-645 A.D.), but his account is fuller and more exhaustive. The geographical notices of both the pilgrims are precise and definite, and for one who wants to get a correct and exhaustive idea of the geography of Northern India during the fourth and seventh centuries of the Christian era, they are, in fact the most important sources of information. But as we are here concerned with the geography primarily of the early Buddhists, we shall turn to them only when they would enable us and help us to explain earlier notices and information.

It will be noticed that in the earlier canons and texts as well as in those later texts and canons that speak of earlier times, Majjhimadeśa is the country *par excellence* that is elaborately noticed. Its towns and cities, parks and gardens, lakes and rivers have been mentioned time and again. Its villages have not even been neglected. Repetitions of the same information are often irritating and it seems that the Middle Country was almost exclusively the world in which the early Buddhists confined themselves. That was, in fact, what happened. It was in an eastern district of the Madhyadeśa that Gotama became the Buddha, and the drama of his whole life was staged on the plains of the Middle Country. He travelled independently or with his disciples from city to city, and village to village moving as if it were within a circumscribed area. The demand near home was so great and insistent that he had no occasion during his life time to stir outside the limits of the Middle Country. And as early Buddhism is mainly concerned with his life and propagation of his teaching, early Buddhist literature, therefore, abounds with geographical information mainly of the Majjhimadeśa within the limits of which the first converts to the religion confined themselves. The border countries and kingdoms were undoubtedly known and were oftentimes visited by Buddhist monks, but those of the distant south or north or north-west seem to have been known only by names handed down to them by traditions. Thus the Mahājanapadas of Gandhāra and Kamboja were known, but they hardly had any direct and detailed knowledge about them. Of the south, they hardly knew any country beyond Assaka, Māhissati (Avanti Dakshināpatha), Kalinga and Vidarbha. But with the progress of time as Buddhism spread itself beyond the boundaries of the Middle Country, and its priests and preachers were out for making new converts, their geographical

knowledge naturally expanded itself, and by the time Asoka became Emperor of almost the whole of India, it had come to embrace not only Gandhāra and Kamboj on one side, and Pūndra and Kalinga on the other, but also the countries that later on came to be occupied by the Cheras, Cholas and Pāndyas. The position of the early Buddhists as regards their geographical knowledge may thus be summarised:—they were primarily concerned with the Middle Country, the cradle of the Buddha and Buddhism, but even as early as the Buddha's time they knew the entire tract of country from Gandhāra-Kamboja to Vāṅga, Pūndra and Kalinga on one side, and from Kāśmir to Assaka, Vidarbha and Māhissati on the other. But knowledge of these outlying tracts of country were not as intimate, and they come to find mention in the earlier texts only when their incidental relations with the Middle Country are related or recalled.

2. *Buddhist Conception of India*.—The Brahmanical conception of the world has been vaguely preserved in the Epics and the Purāṇas wherein the world is said to have consisted of seven concentric islands—Jambu, Sāka, Kusa, Sālmala, Krauṇca, Gomeda, and Pushkara—encircled by seven samudras, the order, however, varying in different sources. Of these seven islands, the Jambudvīpa is the most alluded to in various sources and is the one which is generally identified with Bhāratavarṣa, or the Indian Peninsula.

Jambudvīpa is one of the four Mahādipas or the four great continents including India. When opposed to Sīhaladipa, Jambudvīpa means the continent of India as Childers points out (Pāli Dictionary, p. 165). The ancient name of India according to the Chinese was shin-tuh or sindhu (Legge's Fa-Hian, p. 26). Jambudvīpa is called a vana or forest.<sup>1</sup> It is recorded in the Visuddhimagga that a single world-system is 1,203,450 yojanas in length and breadth, and 3,610,350 yojanas in circumference. Within this world-system lies this earth (Vasundhārā) which is 24 nahutas<sup>2</sup> in thickness. The wind-girt water flows 48 nahutas in thickness; the wind climbs for ninety-six myriad yojanas unto the lower ether. The highest of the mountain peaks is the Sineru which sinks 84,000 yojanas in the great deep and ascends to the same height. The Sineru is compassed by seven celestial ranges named Yugandhara, Isadhara, Kāravika, Sudassana, Nemindhara, Vinataka and Assakanna. The Himavā is 500 yojanas in height and 3,000 yojanas in length and breadth. It is crowned with 84,000 peaks. The Jambudvīpa has been named after the Jambu tree which others name Naga (Vis. M., I, pp. 205-206; cf. VT., I, p. 127 and Asl., p. 298). Buddhaghosa points out that

<sup>1</sup> Pañcasūdani, II, p. 423 (P.T.S.).

<sup>2</sup> Nahuta=ten thousand.

Jambudipa is 10,000 yojanas in extent and it is called *mahā* or great (Smv., II, p. 429). Of these 10,000 yojanas, 4,000 are, according to Spence Hardy, covered by the ocean, 3,000 by the forest of the range of the Himalayan mountains and 3,000 are inhabited by men (Manual of Buddhism, p. 4). He further points out that the five great rivers, *Gaṅgā*, *Yamunā*, *Aciravati*, *Sarabhū* and *Mahi*, after watering Jambudipa, fall into the sea (Ibid., p. 17). Jambudipa has 500 islands (Ibid., p. 449). In the earlier ages, there were 199,000 kingdoms in Jambudipa, in the middle ages, at one time, 84,000 and at another, 63,000; and in more recent ages about a hundred. In the time of Gotama Buddha this continent contained 9,600,000 towns, 9,900,000 seaports, and 56 treasure cities (Ibid., p. 4). The *Digha Nikāya* of the *Suttapitaka* narrates that the Exalted One, while relating the *Cakkavattisihanāda Suttanta*, predicted thus: 'Jambudipa will be mighty and prosperous, the villages, towns and royal cities will be so close that a cock could fly from each one to the next.' This Jambudipa—one might think it a 'Waveless Deep'—will be pervaded by mankind even as a jungle is by reeds and rushes. In this Continent of India there will be 84,000 towns with *Ketumati* (Benares), the royal city, at their head (DN., III, p. 75). We learn from the *Ānguttara Nikāya* that in Jambudipa trifling in number are the pleasant parks, the pleasant groves, the pleasant grounds and lakes, while more numerous are the steep precipitous places, unfordable rivers, dense thickets of stakes and thorns and inaccessible mountains (Vol. I, p. 35). We are informed by the *Papañcasūdani* that gold is collected from the whole of Jambudipa (II, p. 123). The *Dipavamsa* records that Asoka built 84,000 monasteries in 84,000 towns of Jambudipa (p. 49). This is supported by the *Visuddhimagga* which states that Asoka, the Great King, put up 84,000 monasteries in the whole of Jambudipa (Vol. I, p. 201).

The *Milinda Pañho* (p. 3) informs us that in Jambudipa many arts and sciences were taught, e.g. the *Sāṅkhya*, *Yoga*, *Nyāya* and *Vaiśeṣika* systems of philosophy; arithmetic, music, medicine, the four *Vedas*, the *Purāṇas* and the *Itihāsas*; astronomy, magic, causation, and spells, the art of war; poetry and conveyancing. We learn from the commentary on the *Therigāthā* that there were disputants here well versed in arts and sciences (P.T.S., p. 87).

It is interesting to note that merchants made sea-voyages for trade from Jambudipa.<sup>1</sup> Once a dreadful famine visited it (Dh.C., III, pp. 368, 370 and 374). There were heretics and bhikkhus here and the unruliness of the heretics was so very great that the bhikkhus stopped holding uposatha ceremony in

<sup>1</sup> Law, *A study of the Mahāvastu*, p. 128.

Jambudipa for seven years (Mv., p. 51). The importance of Jambudipa is very great as it was often visited by Gautama Buddha besides Mahinda who paid a visit to it with an assembly of bhikkhus (Dv., p. 65). The whole of Jambudipa was stirred up by Sānu, the only son of a female lay disciple, who mastered the Tripitaka and lived one hundred and twenty years (Dh.C., IV, p. 25). The Kathāvatthu informs us that the people of Jambudipa led a virtuous life (p. 99). There is a reference to the great Bo-tree at Jambudipa (Cv., Vol. I, p. 36).

The Buddhist system includes Jambudvīpa as one of the islands that comprise the world, but counts eight dvīpas (instead of seven) and has different names for some of the samudras.<sup>1</sup> The Jaina tradition has, however, new names for the several dvīpas as well as for the samudras. The Bhuvanakoṣa section of the Mārkandeya, Matsya and Vāyu Purānas as well as Bhāskarācārya and the Mahābhārata allude to nine divisions of India. Of these nine dvīpas eight have been shown to be divisions not of India proper, i.e. they are not so many provinces of India, but of Greater India,<sup>2</sup> and are islands and countries that encircle the Indian Peninsula. This Indian Peninsula is the ninth dvīpa which is girt by sea (sāgara-samvritah) and is called Kumāridvīpa. This description of India is, however, unknown to Buddhist tradition.

Early Buddhist sources are, however, silent about the size and shape of India, though the ancient Indians had a very accurate knowledge of the true shape and size of their country. Alexander's informants gathered their knowledge from the people of the country, and described India as a rhomboid or unequal quadrilateral in shape, with the Indus on the west, the mountains on the north and the sea on the east and south<sup>3</sup>.... At a somewhat later date the shape of India is described in the Mahābhārata as an equilateral triangle which was divided into four smaller equal triangles<sup>4</sup>.... Another description of India is that of the Navakhanda or nine divisions which was first described by the astronomers, Parāsara and Varāhamihira, and was afterwards adopted by the authors of several of the Purānas.<sup>5</sup> According to this description, India of the times had the shape of an eight-petalled lotus encircling a round central division. 'In the geography of Ptolemy, however, the true shape of India is completely distorted, and its most striking feature, the acute angle formed by the meeting of the two coasts of the Peninsula at Cape Comorin is changed to a single

<sup>1</sup> See Pullee's *Studi Italini di Filologia Indo-Iranica*, Vol. IV, pp. 15-16. Also see J.R.A.S., 1902, p. 142; 1907, p. 42 and CAGI., Intro., p. XXXVI, and foot-note.

<sup>2</sup> CAGI., App. I, pp. 749-754.

<sup>3</sup> CAGI., p. 2. <sup>4</sup> Ibid., p. 5.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., pp. 6-7.

coast line running almost straight from the mouth of the Indus to the mouth of the Ganges.'<sup>1</sup> For a Buddhist conception of the shape of India, we have to turn to the Mahāgovinda Suttanta (DN., II, p. 235), and to the itinerary of Yuan Chwang, the celebrated Chinese traveller. The former authority states that the great earth (i.e. India) is broad on the north whereas in the south it is 'Sakatamukham,' i.e. has the form of the front portion of a cart, and is divided into seven equal parts. The description of the shape of India as given in the Mahāgovinda Suttanta thus corresponds to a great extent to the actual shape of the country which is broad on the north having the Himalayas extending from east to west and 'Sakatamukham,' i.e. triangular towards the south. The description of the shape as we read in the Mahāgovinda Suttanta agrees wonderfully with that given by the Chinese author Fah-Kai-lih-to. According to him, the country in shape is broad towards the north and narrow towards the south, a description to which he humorously adds the 'people's faces are of the same shape as the country'.<sup>2</sup> The next important information in this connection is derived from Yuan Chwang's itinerary; and it is interesting to compare his description with those just noted. He describes the shape of the country as a half-moon with the diameter or broadside to the north, and the narrow end to the south. This description, however, is just like what Yuan Chwang's conception could possibly be; for he did not visit the south; in fact, he hardly crossed the Vindhya. His travels were thus mainly confined to the north of India which may be said to resemble a half-moon with the Vindhya as its base and the Himalayas spreading its two arms on two sides as the diameter.

3. *Divisions of India*.—Indian literature, whether Buddhist or Brahmanical, divides India into five traditional divisions. These five divisions are clearly stated in the *Kāvya-Mimāṃsā* (p. 93):—

To the east of Bārāṇasi is the eastern country; to the south of Māhiṣmati is the Dakṣiṇāpatha or the Deccan; to the west of Devasabhā (not yet identified) is the western country; to the north of Prithudaka (modern Pehoa, about 14 miles west of Thaneswar) is the Uttarāpatha or the northern country; and the tract lying between Vinasana and Prayāga,

1 CAGI., p. 9.

<sup>2</sup> Fa-Hien's travels—trans. by S. Beal, p. 36, note.

i.e. the confluence of the Yamunā and the Ganges, is called the *Antaravedi*. But when the *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* says that the western boundary of the eastern country (*Purvadeśa*) is Benares, it seems to extend the eastern boundary of Manu's *Madhyadeśa* up to Benares. This is exactly what it should be. For, by the time when the *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* came to be written the Aryans had already outstripped the older limits of the *Madhyadeśa* and Aryandom had extended up to Benares. In the *Dharmaśūtras* and *Dharmaśāstras*, Aryandom, i.e. *Āryāvarta*, is described to have extended from the region where the river Saraswati disappears (i.e. the *Vinasana* of Manu and *Kāvyamīmāṃsā*) in the west, to the *Kālakavana* or Black Forest (identified with a locality near *Prayāga* by S. N. Majumdar; see CAGI., Intro., p. xli, foot-note) in the east; and from the Himalayas in the north to the *Pāripātra* in the south. The *Dharmaśāstra* of Manu calls the *Āryāvarta* of the *Sūtras* to be the *Madhyadeśa* or the Middle Country and his boundaries of Aryandom are almost identical. Almost all Brahmanical sources give a description of *Madhyadeśa* or *Āryāvarta*, the most important division of India, but very few except the *Kāvyamīmāṃsā*, as stated above, and the *Bhuvanakoṣa* section of the *Purāṇas* give any detail about the four remaining divisions of the country. And this is exactly the case with Buddhist sources as well. A detailed description of the Middle Country is as old as the *Vinaya Pitaka* as well as references to *Majjhimadesa* all over early Pāli texts; but an accurate description of the other divisions of India is not found earlier than *Yuan Chwang*. The reason is not very far to seek. As with the Brahmanical Aryans, so with the Buddhists, Middle Country was the cradle on which they staged the entire drama of their career, and it is to the description and information of this tract of land (by whatever name they called it) that they bestowed all their care and attention. Outside the pale of *Madhyadeśa* there were countries that were always looked down upon by the inhabitants of the favoured region.

The five divisions as indicated in the *Bhuvanakoṣa* section of the *Purāṇas* are identical with those given in the *Kāvyamīmāṃsā*. They are: (a) *Madhyadeśa* (Central India), (b) *Udīcyā* (Northern India), (c) *Prācyā* (Eastern India), (d) *Dakshināpatha* (Deccan), and (e) *Aparānta* (Western India). The same division of the country into five provinces was adopted by the Chinese as well. 'In the official records of the *Thang* dynasty in the seventh century, India is described as consisting of "Five Divisions" called the East, West, North, South and Central, which are usually styled the Five Indies.'<sup>1</sup> *Yuan Chwang* also adopts the same divisions which Cunningham describes as follows<sup>2</sup>:-

<sup>1</sup> CAGL., p. 11.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., pp. 13-14.

1. *Northern India* comprised the Punjab proper, including Kāsmīr and the adjoining hill States, with the whole of eastern Afghanistan beyond the Indus and the present Cis-Satlej States to the west of the Saraswati river.

2. *Western India* comprised Sindh and Western Rajputana with Cutch and Gujrāt, and a portion of the adjoining coast on the lower course of the Narbadā river.

3. *Central India* comprised the whole of the Gangetic provinces from Thaneswar to the head of the Delta, and from the Himalaya mountains to the banks of the Narbadā.

4. *Eastern India* comprised Assam and Bengal proper, including the whole of the delta of the Ganges together with Sambalpur, Orissa, and Ganjam.

5. *Southern India* comprised the whole of the Peninsula from Nasik on the west and Ganjam on the east to Cape Kumāri (Comorin) on the south, including the modern districts of Berar and Telingana, Mahārāshtra and the Konkan, with the separate States of Hyderabad, Mysore, and Travancore, or very nearly the whole of the Peninsula to the south of the Narbadā and the Mahānadi rivers.

It is thus obvious that the Chinese system of five divisions was directly borrowed, as Cunningham rightly points out, from the Hindu Brahmanical system as described in the Purāṇas and the Kāvyamimāṃsā. The only difference is that the Antāravedi of the Kāvyamimāṃsā was replaced by the 'Middle Country' (i.e. the Majjhimadesa of early Pāli texts or Mid-India of the Chinese) which included the western portion of the Prācya country or Eastern India.



## CHAPTER I

### MAJJHIMADESA OR MIDDLE COUNTRY

The boundaries of Majjhimadesa (Madhyadeśa) or the Middle country have been referred to and explained in both Brahmanical and Buddhist literature of an early date. Thus as early as the age of the Sūtras, we find, in the Dharmasūtra of Baudhāyana, Āryāvarta or the country of the Aryans (which is practically identical with the country later on known as Madhyadeśa) described as lying to the east of the region where the river Saraswati disappears, to the west of the Kālakavana or Black Forest (identified with a tract somewhere near Prayāga)<sup>1</sup>, to the north of Pāripātra and to the south of the Himalayas.<sup>2</sup> The eastern boundary thus excluded not only the country now known as Bengal but also Bihar which in ancient days included the entire Magadha country, the land *par excellence* of the Buddha and Buddhism. The Dharmasāstra of Manu, however, calls the Āryāvarta of the Sūtras to be the Madhyadeśa or Middle country. Thus, he defines it as extending from the Himalayas in the north to the Vindhya in the South, and from Vinasana (the place where the Saraswati disappears) in the west to Prayāga in the east (Himavad-Vindhayor-madhyam yat prāk vinasanād api pratyag-eva Prayāgāścha Madhyadeśah.....). The Kāvyamimānsā, as we have already seen, however, designates the Āryāvarta of the Sūtras and Madhyadeśa of Manu as Antarvedi (Vinasana Prayāgayoḥ Gaṅgā-Yamunayośca antaram Antarvedi)<sup>3</sup> which extends upto Benares in the east. The Kurma-bhīvāga section of the Purāṇas, however, follows Manu in its description of the middle country. It is thus obvious that the eastern boundary of the Madhyadeśa gradually expanded itself with the progress of time so as to include places that had lately acquired a sacredness within the Brahmanical fold.

It has already been hinted at that the ancient Magadhan country including Benares and Bodh-gayā was the land *par excellence* of Buddhism and the Buddha. It was, therefore, quite in the logic of circumstances that Buddhist writers would extend the eastern boundary of the Madhyadeśa (Majjhimadesa) farther towards the east so as to include the Buddhist holy land. The boundaries of the Buddhist Majjhimadesa as given

<sup>1</sup> CAGI., Intro., pp. XLI, and xl f.n. I.

<sup>2</sup> Baudhāyana—I, 1, 2, 9, etc. Also see Vaśiṣṭha, I, 8.

<sup>3</sup> Kāvya-Mimānsā, p. 93.

in the *Mahāvagga* (Vol. V, pp. 12-13) may be described as having extended in the east to the town of *Kajangala*<sup>1</sup> beyond which was the city of *Mahāsāla*; in the south-east to the river *Salalavati* (*Sarāvati*) in the south to the town of *Satakannika*; in the west to the *Brāhmaṇa* district of *Thūna*<sup>2</sup>; in the north to the *Usiradhaja* mountain.<sup>3</sup> The *Divyāvadāna* (pp. 21-22) however, extends the eastern boundary of *Majjhimadesa* still farther to the east so as to include *Pundavardhana* which in ancient times included *Varendra*—roughly identical with North Bengal. The other boundaries as given in the *Divyāvadāna* are identical with those as in the *Mahāvagga*. The *Majjhimadesa* was 300 *yojanas* in length, 250 *yojanas* in breadth, and 900 *yojanas* in circuit.<sup>4</sup> It is interesting to place side by side the extent of the entire *Jambudipa* of which *Majjhimadesa* was only a part. The *Jambudipa* according to the *Sumangalavilāsini* (II, p. 623) was 10,000 *yojanas* in extent, whereas *Aparagoyāna* was 7,000 *yojanas* (*Dasa-sahassa-yojanappamānam Jambudipam, satta-yojana-sahassappamānam Aparagoyānam*).

Of the sixteen *Mahājanapadas*<sup>5</sup> that existed in India during the days of the Buddha, as many

Countries, towns, cities, etc. of *Majjhimadesa*—1. *Mahājanapadas*. as fourteen may be said to have been included in the *Majjhimadesa*. They are: (1) *Kāsi*, (2) *Kosala*, (3) *Anga*, (4) *Magadha*, (5) *Vajji*, (6) *Malla*, (7) *Cetiya* (*Cedi*),

<sup>1</sup> *Kajangala* is identical with *Ka-chu-wen-ki-lo* of *Yuan Chwang* which lay at a distance of above 400 *li* east from *Champā* (*Bhāgalpur*). That *Kajangala* formed the eastern boundary of the *Madhyadeśa* is also attested by the *Sumangalavilāsini* (II, p. 429).

<sup>2</sup> *Thūna* has not been identified by any scholar. As *Yuan Chwang's* account makes *Thaneswar* the western-most country of the Buddhist Middle country, I propose to identify *Thūna* (or *Sthūna* of *Divyāvadāna*) with *Sthānvisvara* (*ČAGI.*, *Intro.*, p. xliii, f.n. 2).

<sup>3</sup> *Usiradhaja* may be said to be identical with *Usiragiri*, a mountain to the north of *Kankhal* (*Hardwar*). *IA.*, 1905, p. 179.

<sup>4</sup> Commentary on *Jātaka* and *Sumangalavilāsini* (Rhys Davids in *J.R.A.S.*, 1904, p. 88).

<sup>5</sup> The sixteen *Mahājanapadas* are referred to in the *AN.* (Vol. I, p. 213; IV, pp. 252, 256, 260). The *Jaina Bhagavati Sūtra*, however, gives a slightly different list of them. They are: *Anga*, *Banga*, *Magadha* (*Magadha*), *Malaya*, *Mālava*, *Accha*, *Vaccha*, *Kocchaha*, *Pādha*, (*Pāndya*?) *Lādha* (*Rādha*), *Bajji* (*Vajji*), *Moli*, *Kāsi*, *Kosala*, *Avaha*, and *Sambhūtara* (*Suhmottara*?). 'It will be seen that *Anga*, *Magadha*, *Vatsa*, *Vajji*, *Kāsi* and *Kosala* are common to both the lists. *Mālava* of the *Bhagavati* is probably identical with *Avanti* of the *Anguttara*. *Moli* is probably a corruption of *Malla*. The other states mentioned in the *Bhagavati* are new, and indicate a knowledge of the far east and the far south of India. The more extended horizon of the *Bhagavati* clearly proves that its list is later than the one given in the Buddhist *Anguttara*.' (*PHAI*, p. 60.)

There is, however, also an epic account of the *Majjhimadesa*. An interesting account of the tribal characteristics of the peoples of different *janapadas* is given in the *Karnaparva* of the *Mahābhārata*. There the following tribes are mentioned to have been inhabitants of their respective *janapadas* named after them: the *Keuravas*, the *Pañchālas*, the

(8) *Vānsa* (*Vatsa*), (9) *Kuru*, (10) *Pāñchāla*, (11) *Maocha* (*Matsya*), (12) *Sūrasena*, (13) *Assaka* and (14) *Avanti*.<sup>1</sup> *Gandhara* and *Kamboj*, the two remaining countries, may be said to have been located in *Uttarāpatha* or the Northern division.

In the *Anguttara Nikāya* *Kāsi* is included in the list of sixteen *Mahājanapadas* (AN., I, p. 213; IV, pp. 252, 256, 260). Its capital was *Bārānāsi* (mod. *Benares*) which had other names as well, viz. *Surundhana*, *Sudassana*, *Brahmavaddhana*, *Pupphavati*, *Ramma* (Jāt., IV, pp. 119-120) and *Molini* (Jāt., IV, p. 15). The extent of the city is mentioned as 12 *yojanas* (Jāt., VI, p. 160) whereas *Mithilā* and *Indapatta* were each only seven leagues in extent.

Before the time of the Buddha, *Kāsi*<sup>2</sup> was a great political power. Its kings from time to time fought with the *Kosalan* kings. Sometimes *Kāsi* extended its suzerain power over *Kosala* and sometimes *Kosala* conquered *Kāsi*. But on the whole it appears that before the Buddha's time *Kāsi* was the most powerful kingdom in the whole of northern India (Jāt., III, pp. 115 ff.; VT., pt. II, pp. 30 ff.; Jāt., I, pp. 262 ff.). But in the time of the Buddha, *Kāsi* lost its political power. It was incorporated sometime into the *Kosalan* kingdom and sometime into the *Magadhan* kingdom. There were fierce fights between *Pasenadi*, king of *Kosala*, and *Ajātasattu*, King of *Magadha*, regarding the possession of *Kāsi*. *Kāsi* was finally conquered and incorporated into the *Magadha* kingdom when *Ajātasattu* defeated the *Kosalans* and became the most powerful king of Northern India. (SN., I, pp. 82-85.)

In the Buddhist world, *Kapilavatthu*, *Bārānāsi* and *Kusinārā* were the four places of pilgrimage (Digha, Vol. II, *Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta*). It was at *Benares* that the Buddha gave his first discourse on the *Dhammacakka* or the wheel of Law (MN., Vol. I, pp. 170 ff.; Cf. SN., V, pp. 420 ff.; KV., pp. 97, 559).

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*Sālvās*, the *Matsyas*, the *Naimishas*, the *Chedis*, the *Sūrasenas*, the *Magadhas*, the *Kosalas*, the *Angas*, the *Gandharvas* and the *Madrakas*.

The *Janavasabha Suttanta* (DN, II) refers to the following *janapadas*: *Kāsi*-*Kosala*, *Vajji*-*Malla*, *Ceti*-*Vamsa*, *Kuru*-*Pāñchāla* and *Maocha*-*Sūrasena*. The *Indriya Jātaka* (Jāt., III, p. 463) refers to the following *janapadas*—*Surattha* (*Surat*), *Lambacūlāka*, *Avanti*, *Dakshināpatha*, *Dandaka* forest, *Kumbhavatinagara*, and the hill tract of *Arañjara* in the *Majjhimapadesa*.

<sup>1</sup> Strictly speaking *Assaka* at least, if not *Avanti*, as referred to in the early Buddhist texts, should be considered as situated in the *Dakkhināpatha* or the Deccan for both the settlements that are found mentioned in Buddhist sources lay outside the borders of the *Madhyadeśa*.

<sup>2</sup> The earliest mention of the *Kāsas* as a tribe seems to be met with in the *Paippalāda* recension of the *Atharva Veda*. The city of *Kāsi* is stated in the *Brāhmaṇas* to have been situated on the *Varaṇāvati* river (CHI., p. 117). According to the *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Kāsi* was a kingdom while *Prayāga* with the country around was still a forest (*Ādikānda*, XII, 20). In the *Vāyu Purāṇa*, the kingdom of *Kāsi* is stated to have extended up to the river *Gomati*.

The Buddha met an Ājīvika named Upaka on his way to Benares to preach the wheel of Law at Isipatana Migadāya (Therī GC., p. 220). He reached Benares after crossing the Ganges at Prayāga direct from Verañjā<sup>1</sup>. The Buddha spent a great part of his life at Benares. Here he delivered some of the most important discourses and converted many people (AN., Vol. I, pp. 110 ff., pp. 279-280; Ibid., III, pp. 320-322, pp. 392 ff., pp. 399 ff.; SN., I, pp. 105-106; VT., I, pp. 102-108, pp. 110-112).

Benares was a great centre of industry, trade, etc. There existed trade relations between Benares and Sāvatthi (Dh. C., III, p. 429) and between Benares and Taxila (Ibid., I, p. 123). The people of Benares used to go to Taxila. We read in the Susīma Jātaka that a certain youth of Benares went to Taxila, two thousand leagues away from the former, to learn the 'hatthi-sutta' (Jāt., II, p. 47). We know from the Bhojājāniya Jātaka (No. 23) that 'all the kings round coveted the kingdom of Benares.'

Kosala is mentioned in the Ānguttara Nikāya as one of the sixteen Mahājanapadas. The Dīghanikāya (I, p. 103) and the Sumangalavilāsini (I, pp. 244-45) tell us that Pokkharaśādi, a famous brāhmaṇa teacher of Kosala, lived at Ukkatthanagara which had been given to him by King Pasenadi.

The Samyutta Nikāya (I, pp. 70-97) gives us much information about Kosala and its king Pasenadi. We are told that Pasenadi fought many battles with the Magadhan King, Ajātasattu. In the end, however, there was a conciliation between the two kings.

The Buddha spent much of his time at Sāvatthi, the capital of Kosala, and most of his sermons were delivered there. The story of the conversion of the Kosalans to the Buddhist faith is related in some detail. In course of his journey over northern India, Buddha reached Kosala and went to Sālā, a brāhmaṇa village of Kosala. There the Buddha delivered a series of sermons and the brahmin householders were converted to the new faith (MN., I, pp. 285 ff.). The Buddha also converted the brahmins of Nagaravinda, a brāhmaṇa village of Kosala (Ibid., III, pp. 290 ff.). He went to the Mallas, Vajjis, Kāsīs and Magadhas from Kosala (SN., V, p. 349). Once he went to Venāgapura, a brāhmaṇa village of Kosala, and converted the brāhmaṇa householders of the village (AN., I, pp. 180 ff.). In the Pārāyanavagga of the Sutta Nipāta (pp. 190-192), we are told that a teacher of Kosala named Bāvari went from Kosala to Dakkhināpatha. There in the kingdom of Assaka, near the lake, he built a hermitage on the bank of the river Godāvari. We are further told that Bāvari

<sup>1</sup> Samantapāśādikī, I, p. 201.

and a certain brāhmaṇa went to the Buddha who was then in Kosala in order to have their dispute settled by the Blessed One.

Kosala had matrimonial alliances with neighbouring powers. In Jātaka (III, pp. 211-213) we are told that Dīghāvū or Dīghāvū, a prince of Kosala, married a daughter of the king of Benares. In Jātaka (II, p. 237 and IV, pp. 342 ff.) we find that Mahākosala, father of King Pasenadi of Kosala, gave his daughter in marriage to King Bimbisāra of Magadha. The pin-money was the village of Kāsi yielding a revenue of a hundred thousand for bath and perfume. The Kosala Samyutta (SN., I, pp. 82-85) and a Jātaka story (Jāt., IV, pp. 342 ff.) tell us that there took place many a fierce fight between the sons of Mahākosala and Bimbisāra, Pasenadi and Ajātasattu respectively. But the two kings came into a sort of agreement. Ajātasattu married Vajirā, daughter of Pasenadi, and got possession of Kāsi.

In the north the Kosala country included the region occupied by the Sākyas of Kapilavastu. Mutual jealousies sometimes led to war between the two countries. Thus we are told that the Sākyas became the vassals of King Pasenadi of Kosala (DB., pt. III, p. 80).<sup>1</sup>

The capital cities of Kosala were Sāvatthi and Sāketa. But from the Epics and some Buddhist works Ayodhyā seems to have been the earliest capital, and Sāketa the next. In Buddha's time, Ayodhyā had sunk to the level of an unimportant town (Buddhist India, p. 34), but Sāketa and Sāvatthi (Śrāvasti)<sup>2</sup> were two of the six great cities of India (Mahāparinibbāna Sutta, S.B.E., XI, p. 99). Ayodhyā or Oudh was a town on the river Sarajū. Some think that Sāketa and Ayodhyā were identical, but Prof. Rhys Davids has been successful to point out that both cities were existing in the Buddha's time. Besides Sāketa and Sāvatthi, there were other minor towns like Setavya (Pāyāsi Suttanta) and Ukkattha (Ambattha Sutta) included in Kosala proper. Some hold that Sāvatthi was so called because it was resided in by the sage Sāvatthi. But in the Pāpañca-sūdani (I, p. 59), we find a different explanation. The city is said to have contained everything required by human beings. Hence the city is called Sāvatthi (sabbam + atthi).

<sup>1</sup> The Sutta Nipāta, however, definitely includes the territory of the Sākyas of Kapilavastu within the kingdom of Kosala. There-in (S.B.E., X, Part II, 67-68) Buddha says, 'just beside Himavanta there lives a people endowed with the power of wealth, the inhabitants of Kosala. They are Ādicchas (belonging to Āditya family) by family, Sākiyas by birth. ....' The Majjhima Nikāya (II, 124) too is definite on this point. There-in Pasenadi is recorded to have said, 'Bhagavā pi Khattiyo, aham pi Khattiyo, Bhagavā pi Kosalako, aham pi Kosalako'.

<sup>2</sup> Sāvatthi is identical with the great ruined city on the south bank of the Rāpti called Saheth-Maheth.

The Jātaka stories (Jāt., VI, p. 68; IV, pp. 144 ff. and 236 ff.) speak of the wealth and glory of Sāvatthi. It was at Sāvatthi that the Buddha permitted the womenfolk to enter the Buddhist Samgha (MN., III, pp. 270 ff.). Anāthapindika, the great merchant, and Visākhā Migāramatā, the most liberal hearted of ladies about whom Buddhist literature speaks so much, were inhabitants of Sāvatthi.

Sāvatthi contributed a good number of the bhikkhus and bhikkhunis who were of great fame and honour. Patācārā (Dh. C., II, pp. 260 ff.), Kisagotami (Ibid., II, pp. 270 ff.), Nanda, the son of Mahāpajāpati Gotami (Ibid., I, pp. 115 ff.), Kankhārevata, the chief of the Bhikkhus, practising jhāna (Pss. B., p. 7) and Sumanā, sister of Mahākosala (Pss. S., pp. 19-20).

Among other towns in the Kosala country may be mentioned, besides already noted, Dandakappaka (AN., III, pp. 402 ff.), Nalakapāna (Ibid., V, pp. 122 ff.), Pankadhā (Ibid., I, p. 236), and a village named Toranavatthu between Sāvatthi and Sāketa (SN., IV, pp. 374 ff.). The Palāsavana was at Nalakapāna. The Vinaya Texts tell us (pt. I, pp. 220-221) that the road from Sāketa to Sāvatthi was haunted by robbers.

The ancient Kosala kingdom was divided into two great divisions, the river Sarayū serving as the wedge between the two; that to the north was called Uttara Kosala, and the one to the south was called Dakṣina Kosala.

The Kingdom of Aṅga has been frequently referred to in Pali literature. Its capital Campā was situated on the river (mod. Chāndan) of the same name (Jātaka 506) and the Ganges,<sup>1</sup> at a distance of 60 yojanas from Mithilā (Jāt., VI, p. 32). Aṅga proper of the Epics comprised the modern districts of Bhagalpur and Monghyr and extended northwards up to the river Kosi. The Aṅga kingdom at one time included Magadha and probably extended to the shores of the sea. The Vidyhura Pandita Jātaka (Jāt., No. 545) describes Rājagaha as a city of Aṅga. The actual site of Campā, the ancient capital of Aṅga, is probably marked by two villages Campānagara and Campāpura that still exist near Bhagalpur. The ancient name of Campā was probably Mālini or Mālina<sup>2</sup> as stated in the Mahābhārata, the Purānas, and the Harivamśa. The Mahājanaka Jātaka (No. 539) refers to the gate, watch-tower and walls of Campā which, according to the Mahāparinibbāna Sutta, was one of the six great cities of India. Another Jātaka (Jāt., VI, 539) seems to record that Campā gradually increased in wealth and traders sailed from her banks to Suvarṇabhūmi (Lower Burma) for trading purposes. It is not at all impro-

<sup>1</sup> Watters, Yuan Chwang, II, 181; Dkc., II, 2.

<sup>2</sup> Campasya tu puri Campā Yā Mālinyabhavat pura, Mbh., XII, 5, 6-7; Matayā, 48, 97; Vāyu, 99, 105-06; Hv., 32, 49.

bable that emigrants from this city were responsible for naming and establishing the great settlement of the same name in Cochin-China in South-East Asia.<sup>1</sup>

In the *Anguttara Nikāya*, *Anga* is mentioned as one of the sixteen *Mahājanapadas*. The *Vinayapitaka* (Vol. I, p. 179) tells us that there were 80,000 villages in the kingdom of *Anga*, and *Campā* was one of them. In the *Samyutta Nikāya* (pt. V, p. 225) we find mention of the town of *Āpāna* in *Āṅga*. In the *Mahāgovinda Suttanta* (DN., II, p. 235) we find that *Mahāgovinda* built the city of *Campā*.<sup>2</sup> The same *Suttanta* also tells us that India was then divided into seven political divisions. The seven kingdoms with their capitals are named below:—

- (1) *Kalinga* .. capital *Dantapura*
- (2) *Assaka* .. „ *Potana*
- (3) *Avanti* .. „ *Māhissatī*
- (4) *Sovira* .. „ *Roruka*
- (5) *Videha* .. „ *Mithilā*
- (6) *Āṅga* .. „ *Campā*
- (7) *Kāsi* .. „ *Bārānasi*

Before the time of the Buddha, *Āṅga* was a powerful kingdom. We are told in one of the *Jātakas* (Jāt., VI, p. 272) that *Magadha* was once under the sway of *Āṅgarāja*. We are informed by the *Jātāka* book that there was a river between *Anga* and *Magadha* which was inhabited by a *Nāga-rājā* who helped the *Magadhan* king to defeat and kill the *Āṅga-rājā* and to bring *Āṅga* under his sway. In one of the *Jātakas* (Jāt., V, pp. 312-316), it is stated that King *Manoja* of *Brahmavaddhana* (another name of *Benares*) conquered *Anga* and *Magadha*. In Buddha's time *Āṅga* lost her political power for ever. During this period *Āṅga* and *Magadha* were constantly at war (Jāt., IV, pp. 454-55). The *Anga* country became subject to *Seniya Bimbisāra*. This is clearly proved by the fact that a certain brahmin named *Sonadanda* with whom the Buddha had a discussion on the subject of caste, lived at *Campā* on the grant made by King *Bimbisāra* and used to enjoy the revenues of the town which was given to him by the King (DN., Vol. I, p. 111).

In the *Sumangalavilāsini* (pt. I, p. 279) we find mention of a tank called *Gaggarapokkharaṇi* dug by the queen *Gaggarā* of *Campā*. From the *Sonadanda Suttanta* (DN., Vol. I) we

<sup>1</sup> IA., VI, 229; It-sing, 58; Nundolal Dey, Notes on Anc. *Anga*, J.A.S.B., 1914.

<sup>2</sup> The *Mahābhārata*, however, tells us that *Anga* was so called after its king *Anga* (*Ādi-parva*, CIV., 4179 ff.) who seems to be identical with *Anga Vairocana* mentioned in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (VIII, 4, 22). The *Rāmāyaṇa* says that *āṅga* or body of the love-god *Kāma* was consumed here and the country was, therefore, called *Āṅga* (cf. CAGI., Notes, p. 722).

know that the Buddha with a large company of bhikkhus went to Campā in the Aṅga country and dwelt there on the bank of the Gaggarā. The Vinaya Piṭaka (Vol. I, pp. 312–315) gives us to know of Gautama's activities in Aṅga and Campā. From the Majjhima Nikāya (Vol. I, pp. 271 ff.) we know that the Buddha while dwelling among the Aṅgas in a city named Assapura in the kingdom of Aṅga preached the Mahāassapura Suttanta to the bhikkhus, and on another occasion the Blessed One delivered the Culla-assapura suttanta to the bhikkhus (MN., I, pp. 281 ff.). It is said in the Nidānakathā (Jāt., I, p. 87) that many sons of the householders of Aṅga and Magadha followed the Buddha in course of his journey from Rājagaha to Kapilavatthu. One of the Jātakas (Jāt., VI, p. 256) tells us that from the Himalaya sages came to the city of Kāla-Campā in the kingdom of Aṅga to enjoy cooked food. In the Dhammapada Atthakathā (Vol. III, pp. 241 ff.) we find that the chaplain of King Mahākosala, father of Pasenadi-Kosala, named Aggidatta gave up household life and lived in the midst of Aṅga-Magadha and Kuru country, and the people of Aṅga-Magadha used to offer charities to Aggidatta and his disciples.

Aṅga was a prosperous country containing many merchants (VV. C., p. 337). It is evident from the Vimānavatthu Commentary that the people of Aṅga used to go to trade with many caravans full of merchandise to Sindhu-Soviradesa. They had to pass through a desert and once they lost their way but were afterwards saved by a god (p. 332). At the time of the Buddha, Campā, according to the Digha Nikāya, was a big town and not a village, and the Master was requested by Ānanda to obtain Parinirvāna in one of the big cities, e.g. Campā, Rājagaha (DN., II, 146).

Campā was once ruled by Asoka's son, Mahinda, his sons and grandsons (Dīp., p. 28). It was at Campā that the Buddha prescribed the use of slippers by the Bhikkhus (VP., I, 179 foll.). The Digha Nikāya of the Sutta Piṭaka informs us that the Blessed One was sojourning amongst the Aṅgas and went to Campā and took his abode in a vihāra on the bank of the tank Gaggarā (DN., I, pp. III ff.).

The Buddha was, according to the Majjhima Nikāya (I, pp. 271 ff.), once dwelling among the Aṅgas in a city named Assapura in the kingdom of Aṅga. Many sons of householders of Aṅga and Magadha followed the Buddha in course of his journey from Rājagaha to Kapilavastu. They all were his disciples (Jāt., I, Nidānakathā, p. 87).

Early Pāli literature abounds in information about the Magadha country, its people, and its ancient capital Giribbaja. Magadha roughly corresponds to the modern Patna and Gaya districts of Bihar. Its earliest capital was Girivraja, or old Rājagriha, near Rājgir among the hills near Gayā. The Mahāvagga

calls it Giribbaja of the Magadhas in order to distinguish it from other cities of the same name (Cf. Girivraja in Kekaya)<sup>1</sup>. Giribbaja seems to have other and perhaps older names. The Rāmāyana tells us that the city was known by the name of Vasumati (I, 32.7). The Mahābhārata seems to record that Girivraja was also called Bārhadrathapura (II, 24-44) as well as Māgadhapura (II, 20, 30) and that Māgadhapura was a well-fortified city being protected by five hills (puram durādarsham samantatah). Other names recorded in the Mahābhārata are Varāha, Vrishabha, Rishigiri, and Caityaka.<sup>2</sup> There is, however, another name, Bimbisārapuri, by which Indian Buddhist writers designated the city.<sup>3</sup> The Life of Yuan Chwang (p 113) mentions still another name, Kuśāgārapura.<sup>4</sup> The statement of the Mahābhārata that Girivraja was protected by five hills is strikingly confirmed by the Vimānavatthu commentary (p. 82) in which we read that the city of Giribbaja was encircled by the mountains Isigili, Vepulla, Vebhāra, Pandava and Gijjhakūta. The Vinaya Pitaka (Vol. I, p. 29) tells us that Magadha comprised eighty thousand villages all of which were under the sway of King Bimbisāra. The same work informs us that the river Tapodā flowed by this ancient city (VP., IV, pp. 116-117). In the Majjhima Nikāya (Vol. I, pp. 166-67) we find that Senānigāma, one of the villages of Magadha, was a very nice place having a beautiful forest and a river with transparent water. The Samyutta Nikāya (Vol. I, pp. 172-73) tells us of the brāhmaṇa village of Ekanālā where a brāhmaṇa named Bharadvāja lived. The Brāhmaṇa was converted by the Buddha. The same Nikāya tells us of Nālakagāma in Magadha where Sāriputta delivered a discourse on nibbāna to a wandering ascetic named Jambukhādaka (Sam. IV, pp. 251-260). In the Digha Nikāya (I, pp. 127 ff.) we find mention of a brahmin village of Khānumata in the territory of Magadha. In the Dhammapadatthakathā (Vol. III, pp. 439-40) it is related that once the Buddha while staying at Rājagaha informed King Bimbisāra of Magadha that he would pay a visit to Vesāli. Bimbisāra prepared a road for the Buddha, and caused the ground from Rājagaha to the Ganges, a distance of 5 leagues to be made smooth, and erected a rest house at the end of each league. From the

<sup>1</sup> PHAI, p. 70.

<sup>2</sup> PHAI, p. 70

<sup>3</sup> B. C. Law, The Life and Work of Buddhaghosa, p. 87 n.

<sup>4</sup> Rg Veda mentions a territory called Kikata ruled by a chieftain named Pramaganda. In later works Kikata has been alluded to as identical with Magadha (Cf. Abhidhāna-Chintāmani, 'Kikatā Magadhā-vayāḥ' also Bhāgavata Purāṇa, I, 8, 24; and Śrīdhara, 'Kikatah Gayā-pradēśāḥ'). In Vedic, Brāhmaṇa and Sūtra periods, Magadha was considered to have been outside the pale of Aryan and Brahmanical culture and was, therefore, looked down upon by Brahmanical writers. But Magadha was the Buddhist holy land, and has always been included in the Madhyadeśa.

**Mahāvastu** (*Le Mahāvastu*, Ed. by Senart, Vol. I, pp. 253 ff.) we know also of Buddha's journey from Rājagriha to Vesāli. We are told that King Bimbisāra had the road all the way from Rājagaha to the Ganges decorated with flags and garlands, and that the Licchavis too had decorated the road from the Ganges to Vesāli. In the *Divyāvadāna* (p. 55) we find the Buddha saying to the Bhikkhus that in order to go to Rājagaha from Sāvatthi one should cross the Ganges by boats kept either by King Ajātasattu or by the Licchavis of Vesāli. These statements from various sources show that the Ganges formed the boundary between the Kingdom of Magadha and the republican country of the Licchavis, and that both the Magadhas and the Licchavis had equal rights over the river Ganges. In the *Campeyya Jātaka* (Jāt., IV, p. 454) we find that the river Campā flowed between Aṅga and Magadha forming the boundary between the two kingdoms.

The two kingdoms of Aṅga and Magadha were engaged in battles from time to time (Jāt., IV, pp. 454-55). In a Jātaka story (Jāt., V, pp. 315 foll.) it is stated that once the King of Benares conquered both Aṅga and Magadha. In another Jātaka story (Jāt., VI, p. 272) it is said that the Magadha kingdom once came under the suzerainty of Aṅga. The *Mahāvagga* (S.B.E., XVII, p. I) offers a reasonable evidence to prove that the kingdom of Aṅga came under Bimbisāra's sway.<sup>1</sup> The *Sona-danda Suttanta* (*Digha*, Vol. I) also proves the same thing. The *Kosala Samyutta* (SN., I, pp. 83-85) gives an account of a war between Pasenadi of Kosala and Ajātasattu of Magadha. In the end Ajātasattu succeeded in extending his sway over Kosala with the help of the Licchavis. Magadha during the reign of Ajātasattu came into conflict also with Vesāli of the Vajjis. Preliminaries to this struggle are described in the *Mahāvagga* and the *Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta* as well as in the *Nirayāvali Sutta* of the Jains. With Bimbisāra and Ajātasattu Magadha rose to such eminence that centuries later till Asoka's Kalinga war, the history of Northern India is practically the history of Magadha.

Magadha was an important centre of Buddhism. According to the *Kathāvatthu* account (I, p. 89) Sāriputta and Mogallāna were converted by the Buddha to his faith while the latter was in Magadha. The *Samantapāsādikā* (I, p. 63) tells us that the missionaries who visited various places to preach the dhamma of Asoka were almost all natives of Magadha.

In Asoka's time the capital of the Magadhan kingdom was Pātaliputra (the older Pātaligāma where the ministers of

<sup>1</sup> We learn from Jaina sources (Hemachandra, the author of *Sthavirāvali*; cf. also the *Bhagavati Sūtra* and the *Nirayāvali Sūtra*) that Aṅga was governed as a separate province under a Magadhan prince with Campā as its capital.

Ajātasattu built a fort to repel the Vajjis—DN., II, 86). In the Samanta-Pāsādikā (I, p. 52) we find that Asoka's income from the four gates of the city of Pātaliputta was 400,000 kahāpanas daily, and in the Sabhā or Council he used to get 100,000 kahāpanas daily.

Pāli literature, however, contains numerous references to Rājagaha,<sup>1</sup> the ancient capital of Magadha. In the Samyutta (Vol. II, pp. 191-92) it is stated that the Vepullapabbata which was formerly called the Vānkakapabbata was one of the hills surrounding Rājagaha. People could get up to its summit in three days. It was also called Supana.

In the Vinaya Piṭaka we are told that from Rājagaha a road lay to Andhakavinda which was once visited by 500 carts all full of pots of sugar (II, p. 93). Bimbisāra's court-physician Jivaka is referred to as an inhabitant of this place (VP., II, pp. 184-85). But his birth place was Magadha whose rice fields are described to have been divided into short pieces, and in rows, and by outside boundaries and by cross boundaries (Vinaya Texts, II, pp. 207-208). Jivaka was, however, educated at Taxila (Vinaya Texts, S.B.E., II, p. 174). Rājagaha had a gate which used to be closed in the evening, and nobody, not even the King was allowed to enter the city after that (VP., IV, pp. 116-117). The city had a fort which was once repaired by Vassakāra, the minister of Ajātasattu. Veluvana, the bamboo park of Rājagaha has often been referred to as a residence of the Master. Kalandakanivāpa has also been referred to as another residence of the Master. In the 11th Kandhaka of the Cullavagga, there is an important reference to the Council of Rājagaha (VT., pt. III).

Magadha during the early Buddhist period was an important political and commercial centre and people from all parts of northern India flocked to the country in the wake of commerce and other pursuits. Stories of traders and merchants passing through or residing at the capital city are too numerous to recount. Magadha maintained friendly relations by marriage and other alliances not only with the northern neighbours but also with the western Mahājanapada of Gandhāra from whose king Pukkusāti she received an embassy and a letter. When King Pradyota was suffering from jaundice, the Magadhan King Bimbisāra sent his court-physician Jivaka who had received his training at Taxila.

<sup>1</sup> The older capital of Rājagaha was however burned down by fire even during the reign of Bimbisāra, when another new capital city was built called the new Rājagaha. Yuan Chwang says that when Kuśagrapura or Kuśagrapur (probably named after the early Magadhan King Kuśagra-Pārīter, Anc. Ind. Hist. Tradition, p. 149) or old Rājagaha was afflicted by fires, the King went to the cemetery and built the new city of Rājagaha. Fā-hien, however, says that it was Ajātasattu and not Bimbisāra, who built the new city of Rājagaha.

The tribe of the Vajjis included, according to Cunningham and Prof. Rhys Davids, *atthakulas* or Vajjis. eight confederate clans among whom the Videhans, the Vajjis themselves, and the Licchavis were the most important.<sup>1</sup>

The Videha clan had its seat at *Mithilā* which is recorded in the *Brāhmaṇas* and the *Purāṇas* to have originally a monarchical constitution.<sup>2</sup>

The Vajji or Vriji clan is mentioned by *Pāṇini* (IV, 2. 131) and *Kautilya* (Mysore Ed., 1919, p. 378) who however, distinguishes the *Vrijikas* or Vajjis from the *Licchavikas*. *Yuan Chwang* (Watters, II, 81) also distinguishes the *Fu-li-chih* (*Vriji*) country from *Fei-she-li* (*Vaiśālī*). It seems that *Vrijika* or *Vajji* was not only the name of the confederacy, but also of one of the constituent clans. But the Vajjis, like the Licchavis, are often associated with the city of *Vesālī* which was not only the capital of the Licchavi clan, but also the metropolis of the entire confederacy. 'A Buddhist tradition quoted by Rockhill (*Life of the Buddha*, p. 62) mentions the city of *Vesālī* as consisting of three districts. These districts were probably at one time the seats of three different clans.'<sup>3</sup>

The Licchavis had their capital at *Vesālī* identical with *Besārh* in the *Muzaffarpur* district of Bihar. In the *Paramatthajotikā* on the *Khuddakapāṭha* and the *Pujāvaliya* a Ceylonese Buddhist work, we find an account of the mythical origin of the Licchavis, the Vajji country and the capital *Vesālī*. *Buddhaghosa's* fanciful story of the origin of the town of *Vesālī* is also supported by the *Jātakatthakathā* to the *Ekapanna Jātaka* (Jāt., I, p. 504). It is said in the commentary that at the time of the Buddha the city of *Vesālī* was encompassed by three walls at a distance of a *gāvuta* from one another and that at three places there were gates with watch-towers and buildings. From the *Mahāvastu* (Le *Mahāvastu*, Ed. by Senart, Vol. I, pp. 253 ff.) we know that the Buddha once visited *Vesālī* invited by the Licchavis. *Vesālī*, at the time of the Buddha, was an opulent, prosperous and populous town. It had 7,707 storied buildings, 7,707 pinnacled buildings, 7,707 *ārāmas* or pleasure grounds, and 7,707 lotus ponds

<sup>1</sup> Other confederate clans were probably *Jñāṭrikas*, *Ugras*, *Bhogas*, and *Aikshvākas*. To the *Jñāṭrika* clan belonged *Mahāvira*, the *Jina*; they had their seats at *Kundapura* or *Kundagrāma* and *Kollāga*. But they were called 'Vesāli,' i.e. inhabitants of *Vesālī* (Hœrnle, *Uvāsagadāsao*, II, p. 4, note).

<sup>2</sup> *Mithilā* is, however, identified by some scholars with the small town of *Janakpur* just within the *Nepal* border. 'But a section of them may have settled in *Vaiśālī*. To this section probably belonged the princess *Trīśalā*, also called *Videhadattā*, mother of *Mahāvira*'. PHAI., p. 74.

<sup>3</sup> PHAI., pp. 74-75.

(Vinaya Texts, S.B.E., II, p. 171). A similar account of Vesāli is also found in the *Lalitavistara* (Ed. by Lefmann, Chapter III, p. 21).<sup>1</sup> Vesāli was well provided with food, the harvest was good, alms were easy to obtain and one could very well earn his living by gleaning or through favour (VT., II, p. 117). There at Vesāli was the Gotamaka shrine. There lay a road from Vesāli to Rājagaha (Ibid., II, pp. 210-11) and another from Vesāli to Kapilavatthu whence a number of Sākyā ladies came to receive ordination from the Master who at that time was staying at Kūtāgāra hall in the Mahāvana (Ibid., III, pp. 321 foll.). In the 12th Khandhaka of the Cullavagga there is an important reference to the Buddhist Council of Vesāli (VT., III, pp. 386 ff.).

The Buddha's missionary activities were confined not to Magadha and Kosala alone, but were spread over to Vesāli as well. Many discourses were delivered here either at the mango-grove of Ambapāli, in the outskirt of the city or at Kūtāgāra-sālā in the Mahāvana, the great forest stretching upto the Himalayas.

The Mahāparibbāna Suttanta of the Digha Nikāya speaks of the existence of concord and amity among the Licchavis.<sup>2</sup> In the Samyutta Nikāya (P.T.S., pt. II, pp. 267-68), we find the Buddha saying that the Licchavis were strenuous and diligent, zealous and active. The Blessed One further said that if the Licchavis would be given to luxury and indolence, they were sure to be conquered by the Magadhan King Ajātasattu.

The Majjhima Nikāya (Vol. I, p. 231) tells us of the Vajjis and the Mallas as forming samghas and ganas, that is, clans governed by organised corporations. The Mahāvastu states that there were twice 84,000 Licchavirājās residing within the city of Vesāli. The commentaries on the Cullakālinga Jātaka (Jāt., III, p. 1), and the Ekapanṇa Jātaka (Jāt., I, p. 504) speak of 7,707 rājās of Vesāli.

The political relation between Magadha and Vesāli was friendly. The fact that Ajātasattu is called Vedehiputto or Vaidehiputra (SN., II, p. 268; Commy. on Digha I, p. 47; Commy. on Majjhima I, p. 125; Commy. on Samyutta II, p. 215, Dvd., p. 55) goes to show that King Bimbisāra established matrimonial alliance with the Licchavis by marrying a Licchavi princess. In the Majjhima Nikāya (Vol. II, pp. 100-101) we find that the Licchavis were on friendly terms with King Pasenadi of Kosala.

<sup>1</sup> Vesāli is so called because it is extensive, i.e. Viśālibhūtatāya Vesāli ti sankham gatam (Papācasudani, II, p. 19). Yuen Chwang while visiting Vesāli saw two huge groups of ruins which even in the last century came down to be known as Rājā Viśāli Kā garh. This is, however, an ingenuous way of explaining the name Vesāli.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. BS., pp. 3-4.

From the *Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta* (DN., II, pp. 72 ff.) it is clear that Ajātasattu was determined to destroy the Vajjian power. In the *Sumangalavilāsini* we are told of the immediate cause which led to the outbreak of the war. It is said that there was a port near the Ganges extending over a Yojana, half of which belonged to Ajātasattu and half to the Licchavis. There was a mountain not far from it, and at the foot of the mountain there was a mine of precious substance. Ajātasattu found the Licchavis too powerful to crush. Accordingly he sent Sunidha and Vassakāra, his ministers to sow the seed of dissensions among the Licchavis. Vassakāra succeeded in bringing about disunion among the Licchavi princes. Ajātasattu then succeeded in destroying the Licchavis. Buddhist tradition has, however, preserved the names of eminent Licchavis as Mahānāma, general Siha, Dummukha and Sunakkhatta. (AN., III, 74; *Mahāli Sutta* of the *Digha Nikāya* DB., I, p. 198; VT., II, p. 108; MN., I, 234; 68, II, 252; *The Book of the Kindred Sayings*, pt. I, 295.)

The *Mallarattha* or *Mallarāshṭra* has been mentioned in the *Anguttara Nikāya* as one of the sixteen *Malla*. *Mahājanapadas*. The kingdom was divided

into two parts which had for their capitals the cities of *Kusāvati* or *Kusinārā* and *Pāvā* identical probably with *Kasia* (on the smaller *Gondak* and in the east of the *Gorakhpur* district) and a village named *Padaraona* (12 miles to the north-east of *Kasia*) respectively.<sup>1</sup> The *Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta* states that the *Sāla* grove of the *Mallas* where the Buddha lay in his *Mahāparinibbāna* was situated near the river *Hiranyakavati* identical probably, as Smith indicates, with the *Gandak* (*Early Hist. of India*, p. 167 n.).

The *Mallas* had at first a monarchical constitution (*Kusa Jātaka*; *Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta*, *Mahāsudassana Suttanta*, etc.) when their capital city had been known as *Kusāvati*. But later on, in the time of the Buddha, when the monarchy came to be replaced by a republican constitution, the name of the city was changed to *Kusinārā*. Besides *Kusinārā*, the *Mallas* had other important cities namely, *Bhoganagara*, *Anupiyā* and *Uruvelakappa*<sup>2</sup> in the neighbourhood of which there existed a wide forest called *Mahāvana*.

In the *Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta* of the *Digha Nikāya* it

<sup>1</sup> The exact site of *Kusinārā* is not known, but the discovery in the large stūpa behind the *Nirvāṇa* temple near *Kasia* of an inscribed copper-plate with the words '(parini) rvāṇa-chaitye tāmrappatta iti' seems to support the view that *Kasia* is probably the ancient *Kusinārā*. With regard to the identification of *Pāvā*, we are still less certain. Carleyle disagrees with Cunningham and seems to identify *Pāvā* with *Fazilpur*, 10 miles south-east of *Kasia* (CAGI, p. 714).

<sup>2</sup> B. C. Law—*Some Kṣatriya Tribes of Ancient India*, p. 149; cf. SN., V, p. 228; AN., IV, p. 438.

is stated that Ānanda requested the Buddha not to attain Mahāparinibbāna in a small town like Kusinārā. He suggested the names of great cities like Campā, Rājagaha, Sāvatthi, Sāketa, Kosambi, and Bārānasi. But the Blessed One selected Kusinārā as the place of his Mahāparinibbāna and silenced Ānanda by narrating the former glories of Kusāvati. The ancient city of Kusāvati had seven ramparts, four gates, and seven avenues of palm trees. The Buddha himself says that Kusinārā is ancient Kusāvati. It was a capital city, and was 12 yojanas in length from east to west, and 7 yojanas in width north to south (DN., II, pp. 146-47).

In the Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta (DN., II, pp. 72-168) we find an account of the Buddha's journey from Rājagaha to Kusinārā. We are also told of halting places, the list of which is given in order with important events :—

1. Rājagaha—the Buddha consulted by Ajātasattu about an expedition against the Vajjis.
2. Ambalatthikā.
3. Nālandā.
4. Pātaligāma where he crossed the Ganges.
5. Koṭigāma.
6. Nādikā.<sup>1</sup>
7. Vesāli : while staying here at the Cāpāla Cetiya, the Buddha resolved to die in three months.
8. Bhandagāma.
9. Hatthigāma, Ambagāma, Jambugāma, Bhoganagara.
10. Pāvā : the Buddha here visited Cunda and fell ill by eating sūkaramaddava. He recovered and started for Kusinārā ; on his way he crossed the Kakuttha river, reached Ambavana, proceeded to the Sāla grove of the Mallas near Kusinārā and died there.

From a passage in the Majjhima Nikāya (Vol. I, p. 231) it is apparent that the Mallas were a typical example of a Saṅgharājya. In the Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta, mention is made of a set of officers called purisas about whose duties and functions very little is known.

Buddhism appears to have attracted many followers among the Mallas in Dabba (VT., III, pp. 4 ff.), Khandasumana (Pss. B., p. 90), Roja (VT., II, S.B.E., Vol. XVII, p. 139) and Siha (Pss. B., p. 80).

The political relation between the Mallas and the Licchavis was on the whole friendly. But there were occasional rivalries between the two (cf. the story of Bandhula—Dhammapada, Faßboll, old Edition, pp. 218-220).

<sup>1</sup> According to the Papañcasudani, there is a tank by the name of Nādikā (II, p. 235).

According to the *Sumāngalavilāsini*, *Kusinārā* was 25 yojanas from *Rājagaha* (II, p. 609).

The ancient Cedi country lay near the *Jumna* and was contiguous to that of the *Kurus*. It corresponds roughly to modern Bundelkhand and the adjoining region. We are told by the *Cetiya Jātaka* (No. 422) that the capital city of the Cedi country was *Sotthivati-nagara* which is most probably identical with the city of *Šuktimati* or *Šuktisāhvaya* of the *Mahābhārata* (III., 20, 50 and XIV., 83, 2).<sup>1</sup> Other important towns of the Cedi kingdom include *Sahajāti* (AN., III, p. 355) and *Tripuri*, the mediæval capital of *Tripurivishaya* or Cedi.

The *Vedabbha Jātaka* (No. 48) states that the road from *Kāsi* to Cedi was full of thieves and was, therefore, unsafe. The *Vessantara Jātaka* (Jāt., VI, pp. 514-515) tells us that *Cetarāttha* was 30 yojanas distant from *Jetuttara-nagara*, the birth place of King *Vessantara*. *Cetirāttha* was an important centre of Buddhism. In the *Anguttara Nikāya* (Vol. III, pp. 355-356; V, pp. 41 ff.; pp. 157-61) we find that *Mahācūḍa* while dwelling in the town of *Sahajāti* among the Cedis delivered many discourses. The same *Nikāya* (Vol. IV, pp. 228 ff.) also tells us that *Anuruddha* while dwelling among the Cedis in the Deer Park of *Pācīnavarṇa* won *Arahatship*. From the *Dīgha Nikāya* (Vol. II, pp. 200, 201, 203) we learn that the Buddha went to the Cedis and other tribes while out in preaching. In the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* (Vol. V, 436-37) a discussion on the four aryan truths is recorded to have taken place among the bhikkhus who dwelt among the Cedis in the *Sahafīcānikā*.

The kingdom of the *Vamsas* or *Vatsas* is mentioned in the *Anguttara Nikāya* as one of the sixteen *Vamsa* or *Vatsa*. great countries of India. The capital of the country was *Kausāmbī* identical with modern *Kosam* near Allahabad. The *Bhagga* (i.e. *Bharga*) state of *Sumsumāragiri* was a dependency of the *Vatsa* kingdom (*Jātaka* No. 353; *Bhandarkar*, *Carmichael lectures*, p. 63). This is confirmed by the *Mahābhārata* (II, 30, 10-11) and the *Harivamśa* (29, 73) which testify to the close association of these two realms.<sup>2</sup> In the *Dīgha Nikāya* (Vol. II, pp. 148, 169) we find that *Kosambi* was suggested as one of the great cities where

<sup>1</sup> *GD*, p. vii. In the mediæval period the southern frontiers of Cedi extended to the banks of the *Narmadā* (*Mekalasutā*). 'Nadinām Mekalasutā nripānām Rāpavīrahāḥ | Kavīnāmcha Surānandaś Cedi-mandala mandanam' ||. (*Karpuramāñjari*, p. 182). The great epic mentions a river called *Šuktimati* which flowed by the capital of *Rājā Uparicara* of Cedi-Vishaya—*PHAI*., p. 81.

<sup>2</sup> *PHAI*., p. 84. Dr. Ray Chaudhuri points out that epic tradition attributes the foundation of the city of *Kausāmbī* to a Cedi prince (*Ram.* I, 32, 3-6; *Mbh.* I, 63, 81). The origin of the *Vatsa* people, however, is traced to a King of *Kusāti* (*Hv.*, 29, 73; *Mbh.* XII, 49, 80; *PHAI*., p. 83).

the Blessed one should attain Mahāparinibbāna. In the *Sutta Nipāta* Commentary (Vol. II, p. 584) we are told that the city of Kosambi was visited by the followers of Bāvari, a leader of the Jatilas. Pindola Bhāradvāja dwelt at Ghositārāma at Kosambi. From the Psalms of the Brethren (pp. 110-111) we know that he was the son of the Chaplain to King Udena of Kosambi. He went to Rājagaha, entered the Order and in due time attained the sixfold abhiññā (supernatural knowledge). In the *Samyutta* (Vol. IV, pp. 110-112) a conversation on religious subjects which took place between King Udena of Kosambi and Pindola Bhāradvāja is related. While the Buddha was staying at Ghositārāma at Kosambi, he held discourses on Dhamma, Vinaya, etc. (VT., pt. III, p. 233).

In the ancient literature mention is made of two Kuru countries, Uttarakuṇḍa and Dakkhinakuṇḍa.

Kuru.

The Kuru country mentioned in the *Rg-veda* is probably the Uttarakuṇḍa of later times which is alluded to in Pāli literature as a mythical region. Its extent is, however, given as 8,000 yojanas (Smv., II, p. 623). References to the southern Kuru country are frequent in Buddhist literature. The *Papañcasūdāni* says (Vol. I, p. 225) that there was a janapada named Kuru and its kings used to be called Kurua. In the *Anguttara Nikāya* (Vol. I, p. 213; IV, pp. 252, 256, 260) Kuru is mentioned as one of the sixteen mahājanapadas. At Kammāssadhamma, one of the Kuru towns, the Buddha delivered some profound discourses to the Kurus: the Mahānidāna and the Mahāsatipatthāna Suttantas of the *Dīghanikāya* (Vol. II). The thera Ratthapāla, whose verses are still preserved in the *Therīgāthā*, was a Kuru noble and was born in the town of Thullakotthika in the country of the Kurus (Pss. B., pp. 302-307). He is also mentioned in the *Majjhima Nikāya* (II, pp. 65 foll.) as holding a religious discussion with King Koravya. From the *Dhammapada* Commentary (III, pp. 241-47) we learn that Aggidatta, a chaplain of the King Mahākosala of Kosala, after renouncing the world, lived in a place between the eastern dominion of Anga-Magadha and the Kuru country. Of smaller towns mention is made in the Pāli texts of Thullakotthika and Kammāssadhamma.

The *Papañcasūdāni* (Vol. I, pp. 225-226) gives us a story of the origin of the Kurus. It is stated that King Mandhātā, a Cakkavattī king of Jambudipa, conquered Pubbavideha, Aparagoyāna, and Uttarakuṇḍa besides the devalokas. While returning from Uttarakuṇḍa a large number of the inhabitants of that country followed Mandhātā to Jambudipa, and the place in Jambudipa where they settled became known as Kururāththam including provinces, villages, towns, etc. This explains the word 'Kurusu' occurring in Pāli Buddhist literature. The Buddha is said to have delivered a number of religious discourses in the Kuru country and a large number of people

embraced Buddhism (AN., V, pp. 29-32; SN., II, pp. 92-93 and pp. 107 ff.; MN., I, pp. 55 foll.; pp. 501 ff.; Ibid., II, pp. 261 ff.; DN., II, pp. 55 ff.).

The ancient Kuru country may be said to have comprised the Kurukshetra or Thaneswar. The district included Sonapat, Amin, Karnal, and Pānipat, and was situated between the Saraswati on the north and Drishadvati on the south.

According to the Mahā-sutasoma Jātaka (No. 537), the Kuru country was three hundred leagues in extent ('tiyojana-sate Kururatthe'), and the capital city of Indapatta extended over seven leagues (sattayojanike Indapattanagare—Jāt., No. 537). It is stated in the Jātakas (Nos. 413 and 495) that the ruling dynasty belonged to the Yudhīthīla gotta (i.e., the family of Yudhisthīra). Of kings and princes of the Kurus mention is made of the following in the Jātakas: Dhanañjaya Koravya (Kurudhamma Jātaka, No. 276; Dhūmakāri Jātaka, No. 413; Sambhava Jātaka, No. 515; Vidhurapandita Jātaka, No. 545), Koravya (Dasabrahmana Jātaka, No. 495; Mahā-sutasoma Jātaka, No. 537), and Sutasoma (Mahāsutasoma Jātaka).

Like the Kuru country, the Pañcāla country too, which, by the way, is also mentioned in the Pañcāla.

Ānguttara Nikāya as one of the sixteen mahājanapadas of Jambudipa, was divided into two divisions: the northern or Uttara Pañcāla and the southern or Dakshina Pañcāla, the Bhāgirathi forming the dividing line. In the Divyāvadāna we read of two Pañcālavishayas: Uttara Pañcāla and Dakshina Pañcāla. The Jātakas as well as the Mahābhārata also refer to these two divisions of the country.<sup>1</sup> According to the Divyāvadāna (p. 435) the capital of Uttara Pañcāla was Hastināpura, but the Kumbhakāra Jātaka (Cowell's Jāt., III, p. 230) states that the capital of Uttara Pañcāla was Kampilanagara and that a king named Dummuksa ruled there. But according to the Mahābhārata, Northern Pañcāla had its capital at Ahicchatra or Chatravati<sup>2</sup> (identical with modern Ramnagar in the Bareilly district) while southern Pañcāla had its capital at Kāmpilya (Mbh. 138, 73-74), identical with modern Kampil in the Farokhabad district, U.P. This apparent discrepancy in the two evidences is reconciled when we take into account that 'a great struggle raged in ancient

<sup>1</sup> Vedic texts, however, refer to an eastern and western division of the country (Vedic Index, I, 409). The Pañcālas were known by the name of Krivi in the Sātapatha Brāhmaṇa. The Krivis appear in the Rgveda as settled on the Sindhu (Indus) and Asikni (Chenab)—CAGI., p. 705.

<sup>2</sup> The old name of Ahicchatra is Adhicchatra (preserved in an inscription; Lüder's list of Brāhmaṇi inscriptions, Index) which is nearer to the Greek form of Adisadra of Ptolemy (McCrimble's Ancient India as described by Ptolemy, p. 183—Ed. S. N. Majumder, 1927).

times between the Kurus and the Pañcālas for the possession of Uttara Pañcāla. Sometimes Uttara Pañcāla was included in Kururattha (Somanassa Jātaka, No. 505; Mbh. I, 138) and had its capital at Hastināpura (Dvd., p. 435), at other times it formed a part of Kampillarattha (Brahmadatta Jātaka, No. 323; Jayaddisa Jātaka, No. 513; and Gandatindu Jātaka, No. 520). Sometimes Kings of Kampillarattha held court at Uttara Pañcālanagara; at other times Kings of Uttara Pañcālarattha held court at Kampilla (Kumbhakāra Jātaka, No. 408).<sup>1</sup> This is the reason why King Dummukha of Uttara Pañcāla had his capital not at Ahicchatra but at Kampillanagara.

The Saṃyutta Nikāya tells us of Viśākha of the Pañcālas who inspired the Bhikkhus with pious discourse delivered nicely in the meeting hall (Book of the Kindred Sayings, Vol. II, p. 190). From the Psalms of the Brethren (pp. 152-153) we learn that Viśākha was the son of the daughter of the King of the Pañcālas. On the death of his father, he succeeded to his title. But when he heard the Buddha preaching the Norm, he left the world. He followed the Blessed One to Sāvathī and won insight and sixfold abhiññā. Another Pañcāla King named Cūlāni Brahmadatta is mentioned in the Mahā-Ummagga Jātaka (No. 546) as well as in the Uttarādhyayana sūtra (S.B.E., XLV, 57-61), the Svapnavāsavadatta (Act V) and the Rāmāyaṇa (I, 32).

Pañcāla was originally the country north and west of Delhi from the foot of the Himalaya to the river Chambal, but it was divided into North and South Pañcāla, separated by the Ganges. It roughly corresponds to modern Budaon, Furrukhabad and the adjoining districts of the United Provinces.

The Matsya country comprises the modern territory of Jaipur; it included the whole of the

Matsya. present territory of Alwar with a portion of Bharatpur. From the Anguttara Nikāya (Vol. I, p. 213; IV, pp. 252, 256, 260) we know that the Matsya country was included in the traditional list of the sixteen Mahājanapadas. The Janavasabha Suttanta (DN., II, p. 200) tells us of the Matsyas or Macchas in connection with the account of the Buddha's stay at Nādika. In the Vidhura Pandita Jātaka (Cowell's Jātaka, VI, p. 187) we read that the Macchas witnessed the dice-play of the King of the Kurus with the Yakkha Punnaka.

The country of the Matsyas (RV., VII, 18, 6; Gopatha Br., I, 2, 9, Bibliotheca Indica Series) lay to the south or southwest of Indraprastha and to the south of Sūrasena. The capital of the Matsya country was Virātanagara or Vairāt, so called because it was the capital of Virāta, King of the Matsyas.

<sup>1</sup> PHAI., p. 85.

In the *Anguttara Nikāya*, the Sūrasena country is mentioned as one of the sixteen Mahājanapadas. In one of the *Jātakas* (Cowell's *Jāt.*, Vol. VI, p. 137) we are told that the Sūrasenas along with the Pañcālas, Matsyas and Maddas witnessed a dice-play between Dhanañjaya Korabba and Punnaka Yakkha. The country had its capital at Madhurā or Mathurā, which like Kauśāmbī stood on the river Yamunā. The ancient Greek writers refer to the Sūrasena country<sup>1</sup> as Sourasenoi and its capital as Methora. From Sankissa, the place of the Buddha's descent from heaven, to Mathurā it was a distance of 4 yojanas (*Kaccāyana's Pāli Grammar*, S. C. Vidyābhūṣan's Ed., Book III, Chap. I, p. 157).

Buddhism was predominant in Mathurā for several centuries. The *Vimānavatthu* commentary (pp. 118-119) tells us of a woman of Uttara Madhurā who by offering alms to the Buddha was reborn in the Tāvatimsa heaven. One of the most important suttas on the subject of caste was delivered by Mahākaccāyana in Madhurā (MN., Vol. II, pp. 83 ff.). From the *Anguttara Nikāya* (Vol. II, p. 57) we know that when the Buddha was once proceeding from Mathurā to Verañji, he halted under a tree and there he was worshipped by many householders of either sex. In the *Ghata Jātaka* (Cowell's *Jātaka*, Vol. IV, pp. 50-52) we read that Mahāsāgara was the King of Upper Madhurā and that he had two sons whose accounts are recorded there as well as in the *Petavatthu* Commentary (pp. 111 ff.).

The epic and pauranic story of Kamsa's attempt to make himself a tyrant at Mathurā by overpowering the Yādavas, and his consequent death at the hands of Krishna is not only referred to by Patañjali but also by the *Ghata Jātaka* (No. 454). The *Ghata Jātaka* also confirms the brahmanical tradition about the association of Krishna Vāsudeva's family with Mathurā (PHAI., p. 89). 'The Buddhist texts refer to Avantiputta, King of the Sūrasenas, in the time of Mahākaccāna who was the first among the chief disciples of Śākyamuni through whose agency Buddhism gained ground in the Mathura region' (Ibid., p. 90).

When Megasthenes wrote about the Sūrasenas, Mathurā must have formed a part of the Maurya Empire. During the Kushāna supremacy, Mathurā again became important as a centre of Buddhist religion and culture. Numerous dated and undated images of Buddhas and Bodhisattwas as well as inscriptions have been unearthed here.

<sup>1</sup> Madhu, King of the Daityas, and his son Lavana are said to have reigned at Mathurā. Satrughna, the brother of Rāma, killed Lavana and built Madhurā or Mathurā. A son of Satrughna was Sūrasena after whom the country is so called (Vāyu Purāna)—CAGI., p. 706.

Mathurā or Madhurā is generally identified with Maholi, 5 miles to the south-west of the present town of Mathurā or Muttra.

There was a second Mathurā or Madhurā in ancient India. It was the second capital of the Pāndya kingdom on the river Vaigi, in the province of Madras. It was called Dakshina-Mathurā to distinguish it from Mathurā of the north.

In the *Ānguttara Nikāya* Assaka is mentioned as one of the sixteen Mahājanapadas of Jambudipa  
 Assaka (AN., I, p. 213; IV, pp. 252, 256, 260).

From the Mahāgovinda Suttanta of the Dīgha Nikāya (Vol. II, p. 235) we learn that Potana was the capital city of the Assakas. In the *Sutta-nipāta* (verse 977) we find, however, mention of another Assaka country in the Dakkhināpatha. We are told that the brahmin Bāvāri lived on the banks of the Godāvāri in the Assaka territory in close proximity to Alaka or Muļaka (the district round Paithan). In a Jātaka story (Jāt., III, pp. 3-5) we find that the relationship between King Kālinga of Dantapura and King Assaka of Potana, was at first hostile. But afterwards the two kings lived amicably. In the *Vimānavatthu* Commentary (pp. 259 ff.) we find the story of an Assaka king who was ordained by Mahākaccāyana. In the Commentary the capital city is named Potanagara.

It should be noticed that the name of the capital city of the Assaka country is given both as Potali and Potana. It may seriously be asked if the two names are identical though their identity has always been accepted without doubt. At one time the city of Potali was included in the kingdom of Kāsi, for in the Assaka Jātaka (Jāt., II, p. 155) we are told that there was once a King named Assaka who reigned in Potali which is stated to be a city in the kingdom of Kāsi. The Cullakāliṅga Jātaka (Jāt., III, p. 3) mentions another King of Assaka named Aruna and refers to a victory which he won over the King of Kalinga. In the Hāthigumpha inscription of King Khāravela, it is stated that King Khāravela, without taking into account King Sātakarni, caused a large army to move towards the western quarter (Pachima disam) and strike terror into Asaka (or Asika) nagara. The Assaka of the Cullakāliṅga Jātaka and the Asikanagara of the Hāthigumpha inscription are probably identical with the Assaka of the *Suttanipāta* which is stated to be located on the Godāvāri.

Assaka represents the Sanskrit Aśmaka (or Aśvaka) which has been mentioned by Asanga in his *Sūtrālankāra* as a country in the basis of the Indus. Asanga's Aśmaka seems, therefore, to be identical with the Kingdom of Assakenus of the Greek writers which lay to the east of the Saraswati at a distance of about 25 miles from the sea on the Swat Valley. The Aśmakas are also mentioned by Pāṇini (IV, I, 173). They are placed in the north-west by the authors of the Mārkaṇḍeya *Purāna*

and the *Brihat-samhitā*. It was a branch of this people of the north-west that probably settled in the territory known in the *Anguttara Nikāya* as *Assaka Mahājanapada* whose capital was *Potana* or *Potali*, the *Paudanya* of the *Mahābhārata* (I, 77, 47). In early Pāli literature *Assaka* has been distinguished from *Muļaka* which lay to its north, but has always been associated with *Avanti* which lay immediately to the north-east. At the time of the Buddha, the *Assakas* had another settlement on the *Godāvari* (S. Nip., V, 977) as already mentioned. This is probably referred to in the *Cullakāliṅga Jātaka* and in the *Hāthigumphā* inscription. *Bhāṭṭaswāmi*, the commentator of *Kauṭilya*'s *Arthaśāstra* identifies *Aśmaka*, the contiguous territory of *Avanti*, with *Mahārāshṭra*. Practically speaking, therefore, the *Assaka* country of the Buddhists, whether it be identical with *Mahārāshṭra* or located on the *Godāvari*, lay outside the pale of the *Madhyadeśa*.

*Avanti* is mentioned in the *Anguttara Nikāya* as one of the sixteen great *janapadas*. From the *Avanti*. *Dipavāma* (Oldenberg's ed., p. 57) we know that *Ujjeni*, the capital of *Avanti*, was built by *Accutagāmī*. *Ujjeni* is also referred to in Minor Rock Edict No. 2 of *Asoka*. A *kumāra* was in charge of a province with his headquarters at *Ujjeni*.

*Avanti* roughly corresponds to modern *Mālwa* *Nimār* and adjoining parts of the Central Provinces. Prof. *Bhandarkar* has rightly pointed out that ancient *Avanti* was divided into two parts; the northern part had its capital at *Ujjeni* and the southern part called *Avanti Dakshināpatha* had its capital at *Māhissati* or *Māhiśmati* (CL., p. 54). The *Mahāgovinda suttanta* of the *Dīghanikāya* states that *Māhissati* was the capital of the *Avantis* whose King was *Vessabhu*. This apparently refers to the *Avanti* country in the *Dakshināpatha*. The distinction is however noticed in the *Mahābhārata* where *Avanti* and *Māhiśmati* are said to be two different countries (II, 31, 10). Among other cities of *Avanti* referred to in Buddhist and Jain works, mention may be made of *Kuraraghara* and *Sudarsanapura* (B. C. Law, *Ancient Mid-Indian Kṣatriya Tribes*, p. 148; *Kathākoṣa*, 18).

*Avanti* was an important centre of Buddhism. Some of the leading *theras* and *theris* were either born or resided there, e.g., *Abhayakumāra* (Th. G.C., 39), *Isidāsi* (Therī G.C., 261-64), *Isidatta* (Th. G., 120), *Sonakuṭikappa* (VT., pt. II, p. 32; Th. G., 369; *Udāna*, V, 6), and *Mahākaccāna* (SN., III, p. 9; *Ibid.*, IV, p. 117; AN., I, p. 23, Vol. V, 46; MN., III, pp. 194, 223). From the *Psalms of the Brethren* (pp. 238-239) we learn that *Kaccāyana* the Great was born at *Ujjeni* in the family of the Chaplain of King *Cāṇḍapajjota*. It is expressly stated that *Mahākaccāna* converted the King to the Buddhist faith. The *Dhammapada* commentary (Vol. V, p. 101) tells us that when

Mahākaccāna was living at the city of Kuraraghara in Avanti, he ordained an upāsaka named Sonakuṭikappa. The Psalms of the Brethren (p. 107) tells us that the Thera Isidatta was one of the converts of Mahākaccāya. He was born in the kingdom of Avanti at Velugāma.

The commentary on verses 21-23 of the Dhammapada gives a romantic story of the way in which a matrimonial alliance was established between the royal families of Koṣambi and Avanti. At the time of the Buddha, India was divided into small independent kingdoms. Of these kingdoms Magadha under Bimbisāra and Ajātasattu, Koṣala under Pasenadi, Avanti under Pajjota, and Koṣambi under Udena, played important rôles in the political drama of India in the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. There was rivalry among these powers, each trying to extend its supremacy at the cost of another. Accordingly we find Pajjota trying to extend his supremacy over Udena. Pajjota, however, could not achieve his object. In the end Pajjota gave his daughter Vāsavadattā in marriage to Udena. This matrimonial alliance saved Koṣambi from being conquered by Pajjota. Udena also established a matrimonial alliance with the King of Magadha. These two royal marriages were essentially necessary for the maintenance of the political independence of Koṣambi which, however, served as a buffer state between Avanti and Magadha. Had not Udena contracted these alliances, Koṣambi would have fallen an easy prey to the over-growing powers of Magadha and Avanti.

In the *Mahāvastu* (A Study of the *Mahāvastu*, pp. 156-57) we read that the Buddha, desirous of preaching the Dhamma to the Pañca-nagaras, Gāmas, etc.—Apara-Gayā—vaggiya bhikkhus who were then in Benares, set out from Uruvilva. From Uruvilva the Buddha came to Gayā, from Gayā to Apara-Gayā where he was invited by Sudarsana, King of Snakes. He then came to Vesāli whence he went to a city named Cundadvila, where he announced to the Ājivika named Upaka that without a master he had become 'Buddha'.

To the east of Rājagaha was the brahmin village of Ambasandā (DN., II, p. 263). Once the Buddha dwelt at Andhakavinda in Magadha. It is said that the Brahmā Sahampati saw the Blessed One there and uttered some verses in his presence (SN., I, p. 154).

There are references to Ayojjhā in Pāli literature. In the Samyutta (Vol. III, p. 140) we are told that the Buddha once dwelt in Ayojjhā on the bank of the Ganges. During the Buddhist period, Ayojjhā on the Sarayū was the capital of Dakṣiṇa Koṣala, while that of Uttara Koṣala was Sāvatthi on the Rāpti. Ayojjhā represents Sanskrit Ayodhyā of the Rāmāyaṇa and

A-yu-te of Yuan Chwang who places it 600 li to the south-east of the neighbourhood of Navadevakula city identified with Newal in Unaо district, U.P. Ayodhyā is only a mile from Fyzabad. The janapada roughly corresponds to modern Oudh.

Andhapura is mentioned in the *Serivānija Jātaka* (Jāt., Vol. I, p. 111). It is said that two inhabitants of the kingdom of Seri, came across the river Tejavāha and entered the city of Andhapura and set about hawking the wares round the streets.

In the *Tipallatthamiga Jātaka* (Jāt., Vol. I, p. 160) it is said that hard by the town of Ālavi was the Aggālava Cetiya. The Buddha while dwelling in Aggālava shrine near Ālavi told a story concerning the regulation to be observed in the building of cells. Ālavi has been identified by General Cunningham and Dr. Hoernle with Newal or Nawal in Unaо district in U.P. According to Mr. Nandalal Dey, Ālavi is Aviwa, 27 miles north-east of Etwah.

Near the town of Anūpiya was the Anūpiya mango grove. While dwelling once in this grove, the Blessed One told a story about the Elder Bhaddiya who joined the 'Brotherhood' in the company of the six young nobles with whom was Upāli (*Sukhavihāri Jātaka*, Jāt., Vol. I, p. 140).

In the *Cetiya Jātaka* (Jāt., Vol. III, p. 460) we are told that four sons of the King of Ceti built five cities: Hatthipura, Assapura, Sihapura, Uttara Pañcāla, and Daddarapura. Hatthipura was built on the spot where the king's son saw a white royal elephant. Assapura was named as such as the king's son laid out the city in the very place where he saw a royal horse which was white. Sihapura was named from a maned lion. Daddarapura was named from the two mountains striking against each other and making the sound of 'Daddara'.

It is difficult to identify the cities named in this *Jātaka*. Sihapura, however, may be taken to represent Yuan Chwang's Seng-ho-pu-lo, or Singhapura situated at 700 li or 117 miles to the east of Taxila. But this is a mere conjecture and the *Jātaka* story cannot possibly be surmised to relate to the Gandhara region. Hatthipura again, however, may be taken to represent Hastināpura, traditionally identified with an old town in Mawāna tahsil, Merat (CAGI., p. 702).

In the *Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta* (DN., II) we are told that the Bulis of Allakappa obtained the possession of a portion of the relics of the Buddha and built a stūpa over them. The Bulis, like the Licchavis of Vesālī, the Videhas of Mithilā, the Sākiyas of Kapilavatthu, the Koliyas of Rāmagāma, the Bhaggas of

Sūnsumāra hill and the Moriyas of Pippalivana, had a republican form of government. But their importance as a republican state was not very great.

Materials regarding the Bulis in Pāli literature are very meagre. The Dhammapada Commentary (Harvard Oriental Series 28, p. 247), however, refers to the kingdom of Allakappa. It was ten leagues in extent and its king was in intimate relationship with King Vethadipaka of Vethadipa. In Beal's Si-yu-ki, Vethadipa, the native land of Brāhmaṇa Drona, has been stated to be situated on the way from Masār in the Shāhābād district to Vaiśālī. It may, therefore, be assumed that Allakappa lay not very far from Vethadipa.

Visākhā was born in the city of Bhad-diya in the Āṅga kingdom (Dh.C., Vol. I, p. 384).

**Beluvagāma.** The village of Beluva was in Vesālī (SN., Vol. V, p. 152).

**Bhandagāma.** Bhandagāma was situated in the country of the Vajjis (AN., II, p. 1).

In the Bharu Jātaka (Jāt., Vol. II, p. 171) we find a reference to the kingdom of Bharu ruled over by a king named Bharu. It is difficult to locate the kingdom.

**Bahadagojatīra** is mentioned in the Barhut inscriptions.

**Bahadagojatīra.** The location of the place is unknown. The name, however, implies that the place was on the bank of a river crossed by bullocks, cows, and goats (Barhut Inscriptions by Barua and Sinha, p. 7).

**Bibikānadikāta** is referred to in the Barhut inscriptions.

**Bibikānadikata.** This, as its name implies, was a place in the region of the Bimbikā river. But a river or a country of this name has not as yet been traced in any known list of geographical names (Ibid., p. 8).

**Bothicaka**, mentioned in the Barhut inscriptions, is Sanskrit Bodhicakra.

**Bothicaka.** It is doubtful if this was the name of a locality though a similar name Ekacakra is met with in the Pauranic list of places (Ibid., p. 28).

In the Mahādhammapāla Jātaka (Jāt., IV, p. 50) we read

**Dhammapālagāma.** that Dhammapālagāma was included in the kingdom of Kāsi.

**Dabha** is probably identical with Sanskrit Darbha men-

**Dabha.** tioned in the Brahmāṇḍa and a few other Purāṇas as a country located on the hills.

It is mentioned in the Barhut inscriptions.

In the Mahāvastu the traditional list of the sixteen

**Dasārṇa.** Mahājanapadas is referred to, but the names of the countries are not given.

But a long list of countries is given in connection with the

distribution of knowledge by the Buddha in various countries (A Study of the *Mahāvastu*, p. 9). The list, however, slightly differs from the traditional list of the sixteen *Mahājanapadas* found in the *Anguttara Nikāya*. The *Mahāvastu* list agrees with the *Anguttara* list except in this that the former omits *Gandhāra* and *Kamboja* and mentions *Sivi* and *Dasārṇa* countries instead.

*Dasārṇa* has been mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* (II, 5-10) as well as in the *Meghadūtam* of *Kalidāsa* (24-25), and is generally identified with *Vidisa* or *Bhilsa* region in the Central Provinces.

From the *Samyutta Nikāya* (Vol. I, p. 111) we know that the Buddha once stayed among the *Kosā-  
Ekaśālā*.  
lans at the brahmin village of *Ekaśālā*.

In the *Samyutta Nikāya* (Vol. I, p. 172) we find a reference to the brahmin village of *Ekaṇālā*. It was in *Magadha*. We are told that the Blessed One once stayed on the *Dakkhinagiri* at *Ekaṇālā*.

In the *Petavatthu* (p. 20) there is a reference to the city of *Erakaccha* of the *Dasannas*. It is difficult to identify the *Dasannā* country, or to ascertain in which division it was located.

It was at *Isipatana* *Migadāya*<sup>1</sup> that the Buddha for the first time delivered the *Dhammacakka-  
pavattana* Sutta and converted the *Pañcavaggiya* bhikkhus (MN., I, pp. 170 ff.; cf. SN., V, pp. 420 ff.). The *Migadāya* was situated in *Isipatana*. It is *Sarnath*, six miles from *Banaras*.

In the *Sutta Nipāta* (p. 47) we are told that once the Buddha dwelt at *Gayā*. The *Yakkha* *Suciroma*, it is said, threatened to harm the Blessed One, if he could not answer his questions. The Buddha said, in reply to the questions asked, that all passions proceeded from the body. *Gayā* comprises the modern town of *Shahibganj* on the northern side and the ancient town of *Gayā* on the southern side. *Buddhagayā* is six miles to the south of *Gayā*.

<sup>1</sup> In the *Divyāvadāna* (pp. 389-94) we read that Asoka intimated his desire to the Thera *Upagupta* that he (Asoka) would worship and make those places (by erecting *stūpas*), which had been visited by the Buddha, out of compassion for the people who will come next (for the next generation). Asoka visited the *Lumbinivana* (the place of Buddha's birth), the *Bodhimūla* (where the Buddha attained Enlightenment), *Isipatana* *Migadāya* (where the Buddha first preached his sermon) and *Kusinagara* (where the Buddha attained the *Mahāparnibbāna*). He also visited other places connected with the life and activities of the Buddha. Thus the *Divyāvadāna* account of Asoka's pilgrimage to the Buddhist sacred places corroborates what Asoka says in his lithic records (R.E., VIII).

In the *Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta* (DN., II, p. 123) and in the *Samyutta Nikāya* (IV, p. 109) mention is made of *Hatthigāma*. It was in the *Vajji* country. From the *Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta* we know that the Buddha in course of his journey from *Rājagaha* to *Kusinārā* passed through *Hatthigāma*.

*Haliddavasana*, a village in the *Koliya* country was visited by the Buddha (SN., V, p. 115). The *Haliddavasana*. *Koliya* country lay to the east of the *Sākya* territory. They had their capital at *Kāmagāma*. The introduction to the *Kunāla Jātaka* says that the *Sākya* and *Koliya* tribes had the river *Rohini* which flowed between *Kapilavastu* and *Rāmagāma*. Both the tribes had the river confined by a single dam and they cultivated their crops by means of water of this river (Cowell's edition, Vol. V, pp. 219 foll.). From the *Theragāthā* (Verse 529, p. 56) it appears that the territories of the *Sākyas* and the *Koliyas* lay side by side and the river *Rohini* formed the boundary between the two clans.

*Majjhima* propagated the Buddhist faith in the *Himavantapadesa* (Mv., Chap. XII). It has been identified by some with Tibet but Fergusson identifies it with Nepal. What is *Himavantapadesa* in the *Mahāvamsa* is, however, stated to be *Cinarattha* mentioned in the *Sāsanavamsa* (p. 13). Prof. Rhys Davids identifies *Himavantapadesa* with the Central Himalayas. It is 3,000 *yojanas* in extent (Papaficasūdāni, II, p. 6).

*Ichhānaṅgala* was a *brāhmaṇagāma* in *Kosala*. Once the *Buddha* stayed at that village in the *Ichhānaṅgala*. *Ichhānaṅgala* *vanasanda* (AN., III, pp. 30, 341; Ibid., IV, p. 340). In the *Suttanipāta* (p. 115) the name of the village is given as *Ichhānaṅkala*.

In the *Anguttara Nikāya* (Vol. IV, p. 354) it is said that once the *Buddha* was staying at the *Jantugāma*. *Cālikā-pabbata* in *Cālikā*. The venerable *Meghiya* approached the Master and requested the Lord to permit him to go about for alms in *Jantugāma*. The Blessed One gave his permission and the latter went about for alms and in due course came up to the bank of the river *Kimikālā*.

*Kākamdi* is mentioned in the *Barhut inscriptions*. The location of the place is unknown.

*Khujatimduka* is mentioned in the *Barhut inscriptions*. The location of the place is unknown. The *Khujatimduka*. *Purāṇas* mention *Kubjaka* and *Kubjāmra* among the holy places of India, but they do not seem to have any connection whatsoever with *Khujatimduka*.

From the *Dhammapada Commentary* (Vol. I, p. 96) we know that the village of *Kalavāla* was in the *Magadharattha*. We are told that

while residing near this village Moggallāna fell into sloth on the 7th day after the day of his reception into the Order. Aroused by the Master, Moggallāna shook off sloth and completed meditation leading to the three higher paths and attained the goal of Perfection of Knowledge of chief disciples.

In the *Mahāvagga* (VT., II, p. 38) as well as in the *Sumanā-Kajangala* *galavilāsini* (II, p. 429), Kajangala is stated to have been the eastern limit of the Majjhimadesa. It is the *Ka-chu-wen-ki-lo* of Yuan Chwang who says that it was 2,000 li in circuit (Watters, II, p. 182). It is mentioned as Kajangala in the commentary on the *Rāmapālacakritā* (Anc. Geo. of India, p. 723). A *Jātaka* story tells us (Jāt., IV, 310) that Kajangala was, even in Buddha's time, an ancient place where food could easily be got (dabbasambhārā sulabhā).

From the *Milinda-pañho* (p. 10) we know that it was a brāhmanagāma and was the place of Nāgasena's birth. The *Ānguttara Nikāya* (Vol. V, p. 54) tells us that the Buddha once dwelt at Veluvana in Kajangala. In the *Majjhima Nikāya* (Vol. III, p. 298) we read that the Buddha resided at Mukheluvana in Kajangala and delivered the *Indriyabhāvanā Sutta*.

From the *Samyutta Nikāya* (Vol. V, p. 431) we know that *Kotigāma* was a village of the Vajjians. From the *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta* (DN., II, pp. 90-91) we know that the Buddha in course of the journey from Rājagaha to Kusinārā passed through *Kotigāma*.

From the *Asātarupa Jātaka* (Jāt., Vol. I, 407) we know that near the city of *Kundiya* was the *Kuṇḍiya*. *Kuṇḍadhānavana* where the Buddha told a story about *Suppavāsā*, a lay sister, who was a daughter of King *Koliya*.

*Kapilavatthu* was the capital of the Śākyas, named after the R̄si *Kapila*. The *Lalitavistara* calls it *Kapilavastu* and sometimes *Kapilapura* (p. 243) or *Kapilāhvayapura* (p. 28). These names occur also in the *Mahāvastu* (Vol. II, p. 11, line 3). The *Divyāvadāna* (p. 548) also connects *Kapilavastu* with the sage *Kapila*. The *Buddhacarita* (Book I, V. 2) also mentions it as *Kapilasya vastu*. The *Mahāvastu* says that *Kapilavastu* was surrounded by seven walls (Vol. II, p. 75).

The importance of the Śākyas in Indian history is due to the birth of the Buddha among them. The *Mahāvastu* (I, pp. 348 foll.) gives a story of the foundation of *Kapilavastu* and the settlement of the Śākyas there. According to Yuan Chwang it was about 500 li south-east from the neighbourhood of *Śrāvasti*.

Besides *Kapilavastu* there were also other Śākyā towns : *Cātumā*, *Sāmagāma*, *Ulumpā*, *Devadaha*, *Sakkara*, *Silavati* and *Khomadusse*.

The episode of *Pasenadi's* marriage with *Vāsavakhattiyā*,

one of the daughters of a Śākyā chief by a slave girl, proves how proud and aristocratic the Śākyas were. Some of the Śākyā ladies, who became nifns, have left behind them poems and songs that are preserved in the Psalms of the Sisters: Tissā (Pss.S., pp. 12-13), Abhirūpanandā (Ibid., pp. 22-23), Mittā (Ibid., p. 29) and Sundarinandā (Ibid., pp. 55-57).

The administrative and judicial business of the Śākyā clan was carried out in their Saṅthāgāra or Mote hall at Kapilavatthu (Buddhist India, p. 19). The Lalitavistara gives 500 as the number of the members of the Śākyā Council (pp. 136-137).

In the Dhammapada Commentary (III, p. 254) we are told that the Śākyas and the Koliyas caused the waters of the river Rohini to be confined by a single dam between the city of Kapilavatthu and the city of Koliya, and cultivated the fields on both sides of the river. Once a quarrel broke out between the Śākiyas and the Koliyas regarding the possession of the river. The Buddha knowing that the quarrel would result in the destruction of both went to the place of the scene and brought about conciliation.

In one of the Jātakas (Jāt., IV, pp. 144 ff.) we are told that Viḍūdabha, in order to crush the Śākiyas who deceived his father by giving him a daughter of a slave girl to marry, deposed his father and became king. He marched out with a large army and succeeded in annihilating the Śākiyas. But he with his army met with destruction.

In the Mahāvamsa Tikā (pp. 119-121) we are told that some Śākiyas being oppressed by King Viḍūdabha fled to the Himalayas where they built the Moriyanagara. It is now generally accepted that Candagutta, grandfather of Asoka the Great, belonged to the Moriya clan which had its seat of government at Pippalavana. Kapilavatthu is referred to in both the Ceylonese chronicles, the Dipavamsa and the Mahāvamsa.

Yuan Chwang visited Kapilavastu, the towns of Krakucandra and Konāgamana and Lumbini or La-fa-ni grove, the birth place of Lord Buddha. The Rummindei pillar inscription of Asoka locates beyond doubt the Lumbini grove. The inscription on the Niglīva pillar (now situated 38 miles north-west of the Uskabazar station of B.N.W. Ry.) shows that it was erected near the stūpa of Konāgamana; but it is not in situ. The village of Piprāwā (Birdpur Estate, Basti District)—the findspot of the famous Piprāwā Vase—marks, according to Dr. Fleet, the site of Kapilavastu (J.R.A.S., 1906, p. 180; CAGI., pp. 711-712). Dr. Rhys Davids, however, takes Tilaura Kot to be the old Kapilavastu and Piprāwā to be the new city built after the destruction of the old city by Viḍūdabha. Mr. P. C. Mukherjee concurs with Dr. Rhys Davids and identifies Kapilavatthu with Tilaura, 2 miles north of Tauliva which is the headquarters of the provincial government

of the Tarai, and 3½ miles to the south-west of the Nepalese village of Nigliva, north of Gorakhpur, situated in the Nepalese Tarai. Rummainte-dei is only 10 miles to the east of Kapilavatthu, and 2 miles north of Bhagavanpur.

The Kālāmas of Kesaputta were a small republican clan during the age of Bimbisāra, and Kesaputta. have been mentioned along with other contemporary republican clans such as the Śākyas of Kapilavastu, the Koliyas of Rāmagāma, the Bhaggas of Sumsumāra hill, the Bulis of Allakappa, and the Moriyas of Pippalivana. According to the *Buddhacarita* (XII, 2) they were the clans to which the philosopher Ālāra belonged. The *Anguttara Nikāya* (I, 188) seems to place Kesaputta in Kosala.<sup>1</sup>

It was the capital of King Khema's kingdom (DN., II, Khemavatī. p. 7). The exact identity of the place is not known.

Mithilā was the capital of the Videhas and is celebrated in the Epics as the land of King Janaka. Mithilā.

At the time of the Buddha the Videha country was one of the eight constituent principalities of the Vajjian confederacy. Of these eight principalities the Licchavis of Vesālī and the Videhas of Mithilā were, however, the most important.

It is stated in one of the Jātakas (Cowell's Jāt., III, p. 222) that the city of Mithilā, the capital of the Videhas, was seven leagues and the kingdom of Videha, three hundred leagues in extent. In the Mahājanaka Jātaka (Cowell's Jātaka, IV, p. 204) the distance between Mithilā and Campā is given as sixty leagues. In one of the Jātakas (Cowell's Jātaka, III, p. 222) we read that the kingdom of Videha had 15,000 villages, 16,000 storehouses filled, and 16,000 dancing girls. It is clear from Dharmapāla's *Paramatthadipani* on the *Theragāthā* (pp. 277-278) that at the time of the Buddha, Videha was a centre of trade. We are told of people coming from Sāvatthi to Videha to sell their wares. It is also stated that the route passed through a desert.

Videha is identical with ancient Tirabhukti, that is modern Tirhut. According to the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (I, IV, 1) Videha was so named after Māthava the Videgha who colonized it. It was bounded by the Kausikī (Kosi) in the east, the Ganges in the south, the Sadānīrā (the Gandak or the Rāpti) in the west

<sup>1</sup> 'The name of their capital "Kesaputta" reminds us of the Kesins, a people mentioned in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (Vedic Index, I, p. 186) and probably also in the *Aśtādhyāyī* of Pāṇini (VI, 4 165), and connected with the Pācīlas and Dalbhayas who appear in the *Rgveda*, V, 61, as settled on the banks of the Gomati'—P.H.A.I., p. 118.

and the Himalayas in the north. According to the Rāmāyaṇa (Ādikānda, XLIX, 9-16; cf. Sānti Parva of the Mahābhārata, CCCXXVII, 12233-8), Mithilā was the name of the capital as well as of the country itself. Cunningham identifies the capital with Janakapura, a small town within the Nepal border, north of which the Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga districts meet (CAGI., p. 718).

Macalagāmaka. In one of the Jātakas (Jāt., I, 199) reference is made to a village named Macala in Magadha.

It is mentioned in the Barhut inscriptions. The location of the place is unknown. If it be the Namdinagara. same as Nandigrāma of the Rāmāyaṇa, then it may be identical with Nandgaon in Oudh.

The place is mentioned in the Barhut inscriptions. The Nagarā or Nagarā. location of the place is unknown. Is it identical with Nagarahāra mentioned in the Parāśaratāntra, the Nang-go-lo-ho-lo of the Chinese, the Nagarā or Dionysopolis of Ptolemy and identified with Jelalabad? If so, then it should be located in the Uttarāpatha division. But it may also be held to be identical with Nagarā or Nagarā, 8 miles north of Chitorghad State in Udaipur in Rajputana.

Nālandā is frequently referred to in early Pāli literature. Nālandā. The Buddha is said to have started once from Rājagaha for Nālandā (DN., I, pp. 1 foll.). In the Saṃyutta Nikāya it is stated that the Buddha once visited Nālandā from Kosala (Ibid., IV, p. 323). In the Majjhima Nikāya (Vol. I, p. 371) we read that once the Buddha dwelt in the Pāvārikambavana at Nālandā where he had a discussion with Dīgha Tapassi, a Nigantha, relating to the Nigantha doctrines and delivered the Upālsutta. In the Sumāngalavilāsini (Vol. I, p. 35) we find that the distance from Rājagaha to Nālandā was one yojana. Nālandā is identified with modern Bargaon, 7 miles to the north-west of Rājgir in the district of Patna. Nālandā acquired an orient-wide celebrity as the most important seat of Buddhist learning and culture in the days of the Guptas from the sixth and seventh centuries onwards.

The famous Indrasilā cave may be located in the rugged hill rising immediately to the west of the Badgaon village.

Nālaka, a village in Magadha, was visited by Sāriputta Nālaka. (SN., IV, p. 251). We know that Sāriputta stayed among the Magadhans at Nalagāmaka which was not far from Rājagaha (Ibid., V, 161). This Nalagāmaka may be said to be identical with Nālaka. In the Mahāsudassana Jātaka (Jāt., I, p. 391) the name of the village where the Elder Sāriputta was born is given as Nāla. In the same Jātaka we read that Sāriputta died at Varaka (Ibid.).

In the *Samyutta Nikāya* (II, p. 74) we are told that the Buddha stayed at Nātika. It is called Nādika (of the Nādikas). The identification of the place is not known.

In the *Cariyāpitaka* (Dr. B. C. Law's Ed., p. 7) we read that Canda-Kumāra was the son of Pupphavati. Ekarāja of Pupphavati. He offered charities whole-heartedly and he never ate anything without first giving it to a beggar. Pupphavati was only another name for Bārānasi, the capital of the Kāsi kingdom (CL., pp. 50-51). Other names of Bārānasi were Surundhana, Sudassana, Brahma-vaddhana, Rammanagara and Molini.

The Moriyas of Pipphalivana are included in the list of the republican clans that existed in the time of the Buddha (Mahāparinibbāna Sutta—DN., Vol. II, p. 167). There is little information about the Moriyas in Buddhist literature. From the Suttanta referred to above we come to know that they got a portion of the relics of the Buddha and erected a stūpa over the same. In the *Mahāvamsa* we are told that Candagutta, grandfather of Asoka, belonged to the Moriya clan. The Moriyas are, therefore, the same as the Mauryas.

The Koliyas, one of the republican clans of the time of the Buddha, had two settlements, one at Rāmagāma and the other at Devadaha. The *Sumangalavilāsini* (pp. 260-262) tells us of the origin of the Koliyas. It is stated that a sage named Rāma, an ex-king of Benares who left his kingdom and retired to a forest as he was detested by his wives and relatives, married the eldest of the five daughters of King Okkāka, who had been forsaken by her relatives and forced to live in forest, and built a town in the forest removing a big Kola tree. The city henceforth came to be known as Kolanagara and the descendants of the king came to be known as Koliyas.

According to the *Mahāvastu* (Vol. I, pp. 352-55) the Koliyas were, however, descendants of the sage Kola. The *Kunāla Jātaka* (Jāt., V, p. 413) says that the Koliyas used to dwell in the Kola tree. Hence they came to be called the Koliyas.

In the *Theragāthā* (V, 529, p. 56) and in one of the *Jātakas* (Cowell's *Jātaka*, V, p. 219) we are told of a quarrel between the Sākyas and the Koliyas. The Buddha, however, brought about a conciliation between the two clans.

Rāmagāma is Rampur Deoriya in the district of Basti in Oudh.

The Buddha once dwelt in the Sakka country in Sāmagāma and delivered the Sāmagāma Sutta (MN., II, p. 243). The *Anguttara Nikāya* (III, p. 309) also tells us that the Buddha once dwelt at Sāmagāma in the country of the Sākyas on the bank of a tank.

Sāpūga.

Ānanda once stayed at Sāpūga, a town-  
ship of the Koliyas (AN., II, p. 194).

Sobhavati.

It was the capital of King Sobha's  
kingdom (DN., II, p. 7).Setavya was a city of the Kosala country. In the Āngut-  
tara Nikāya (Vol. II, p. 37) we find that  
Setavya. it is near Ukkattha, and that there was  
a road from Ukkattha to Setavya.After the Buddha had performed the 'Double Miracle'  
and had made a stay in heaven, he de-  
Samkassa.Scended at the city of Samkassa on the  
day of the great Pavāraṇā festival, and thence passed with a  
large following to Jetavana (Kanha Jātaka, Jāt., Vol. I, p. 193).Samkassa is Saṅkissa or Sankisa-Basantapura, situated on  
the north bank of the river Ikkhumati; now called Kālinadi,  
between Atranji and Kanoj, and 23 miles west of Fatehgarh in  
the district of Etah and 45 miles north-west of Kanoj.Sālindiya was a brāhmaṇa village on the east side of  
Sālindiya. Rājagaha (Suvanna-Kakkhaka Jātaka,  
Jāt., Vol. III, p. 293).The Bhaggas of Suṇṇumāra Hill have frequently been  
Suṇṇumāragirinagara. referred to in Pāli literature. Suṇṇumāra  
Hill was doubtless the capital of the  
Bhagga country. There can also be no doubt about the fact  
that it was used as a fort. We know that in the lifetime of  
the Buddha, Prince Bodhi, son of King Udena of Kosambi,  
ruled over the Bhaggas as his father's viceroy. Bodhi became  
one of the followers of the Buddha (MN., II, p. 91; Jāt.,  
III, p. 157). But the Bhagga country was really a republican  
country, for it is mentioned in the list of the republican clans  
in the Mahāparnibbāna Suttanta (DN., II, p. 167). It may  
be that the Bhaggas were temporarily under the sway of  
Kosambi.It is said that while the Buddha was engaged in deep  
Senāpatigāma. meditation for six years at the Senāpati-  
gāma in Uruvilva, a public woman named  
Gavā, kept a coarse cloth on the branch of a tree for the  
Buddha's use after meditation. By virtue of this noble deed,  
she was reborn in heaven as a nymph (A Study of the Mahā-  
vastu, p. 154).The Paṇḍras or Paundrakas are mentioned several times  
Paṇḍravardhana. in the Great Epic. They are once linked  
XIII, 584) with the Vāṅgas and Kirātas (Sabhā,  
while on another occasion are mentioned in con-  
nection with the Udras, Utkalas, Mekalas, Kaliṅgas, and  
Andhras (Vana P., LI, 1988; Bhismā P., IX, 365; Drona, IV,  
122). Pargiter therefore thinks that the Paṇḍras once occu-  
pied the countries that are at present represented by the

modern districts of Santal Parganas, Birbhum and northern portion of Hazaribagh.

Pundravardhana, according to the *Divyāvadāna* (J.R.A.S., 1904, p. 86), was the eastern boundary of the Majjhimadesa and is identical with the Pun-na-fa-tan-na of Yuan Chwang.

It is evident from the record of Khāravela's fifth regnal year (*Hāthigumpha* inscription) that Tanasuliya or Tanasuli. Kalinganagara, the capital of Khāravela's kingdom of Kalinga was not far from Tanasuliya or Tanasuli road wherefrom a canal opened by King Nanda was led by extension into the city of Kalinga. Dr. Barua says in his book on Old Brāhmi Inscriptions (p. 14) that Tanasuliya or Tanasula is a name which stands in contrast with Mahāsuliya or Mahāsuli, tan or tanu being the opposite form of Mahā or Maha.

Thūna probably represents Sthūna of the *Divyāvadāna* and was a brāhmanagāma (Jāt., VI, p. 62) that formed the western boundary of the Buddhist Majjhimadesa. Thūna has not been identified by any scholar. As Yuan Chwang's account makes Thaneswar the westernmost country of the Buddhist Majjhimadesa, Prof. Mazumdar proposes to identify Thūna with Sthānisvara or Thaneswar (Cunningham's Geography of Ancient India by S. N. Mazumdar, Introduction, p. xlvi).

In the Majjhima Nikāya we are told that the Buddha dwelt at Ukkācelā on the bank of the river Ganges in the Vajji country and delivered the Cūlagopālaka Sutta. In the Samyutta (Vol. V, p. 163) we find that the Buddha stayed among the Vajjians at Ukkācelā on the river Ganges together with a great company of bhikkhus, not long after the passing away of Sāriputta and Moggallāna.

Upatissagāma. The village of Upatissa was not far off from Rājagaha (Dh.C., I, p. 88).  
In the Dhammapada Atthakathā (Dh.C., III, p. 465) we find a reference to the Ugganagara. It Ugganagara. is said that a certain settī named Ugga came to Sāvatthi on business purposes from Ugganagara.

There are numerous references to Usinārā in Pāli literature. In the *Divyāvadāna* (p. 22) mention is made of Usiragiri. Dr. Roy Chaudhuri rightly points out that Usināragiri mentioned in the Kathāsaritāgara is doubtless identical with Usiragiri of the *Divyāvadāna* and Usiradhaṇa of the Vinaya Texts (S.B.E., Pt. II, p. 39) where it has been described as the northern boundary of the Buddhist Majjhimadesa. It was a mountain to the north of Kaṅkhal (Hultzsch in IA., 1905, p. 179).

Once the Buddha after passing the rainy season at *Verañja* arrived at *Sāvatthi* in due course (*Cullasuka Jātaka*, *Jāt.*, Vol. III, p. 494).

The city of *Vettavati* was on the bank of the river of that name (*Mātamga Jātaka—Jāt.*, Vol. IV, p. 388). It is doubtless identical with *Vettavati*.

Sanskrit *Vetravati* mentioned in *Kālidāsa's Meghadūtarām*. The *Vettavati* river is identified with the modern *Betva*, a small tributary of the *Ganges*.

The Barhut inscriptions mention *Venuvagāma* as a suburb of *Kosambi*. Cunningham identifies it with the modern village of *Ben-Purwa* to the north-east of *Kosam*.

*Vedisa*, mentioned in Barhut inscriptions, is Pāli *Vidisā* and Sanskrit *Vaidiśa*. It is, according to *Vedisa*. Cunningham, the old name of *Besnagar*,

a ruined city situated in the fork of the *Bes* or *Vedisa* river and the *Betwa* within 2 miles of *Bhisa*. *Vaidiśa* was, according to the *Purānas*, situated on the bank of the *Vidisā* river which took its rise from the *Pāripātra* mountain.

*Vidisā* came for the first time into prominence in Buddhism in connection with the viceroyalty of *Asoka*. *Asoka*, while he was a viceroy at *Ujjain*, married a *Vaiśya* girl from *Vessanagara* or *Vaiśyanagara* which was evidently the old name of *Besnagar*. Since the time of *Asoka* it became an important centre of Buddhism and later on of *Vaiśnavism*.

In the *Mahā-Ummaga Jātaka* (*Jāt.*, VI, pp. 330-331) *Yavamajjhaka* occurs as a general name for four market towns distinguished as eastern, southern, western and northern according to their respective positions near the four gateways of the city of *Mithilā*, the capital of *Videha*.

In the *Samyutta Nikāya* (Vol. II, p. 135; Vol. V, pp. 401, 460-461) as well as in the *Anguttara Nikāya* (Vol. IV, p. 101; Vol. V, p. 22), etc.—*Aciravati* *Aciravati* is mentioned as one of the five great rivers or *Mahānadi*. The four other rivers mentioned are: *Gangā*, *Yamunā*, *Sarabhu*, and *Mahi*. In the *Sālittaka Jātaka* (*Jāt.*, Vol. I) and in the *Kurudhamma Jātaka* (*Jāt.*, Vol. II) we find that the river *Aciravati* was near *Sāvatthi*. This is also borne out by a story in the *Dhammapada Commentary* (Vol. III, p. 449) in which we read that there was a certain village named *Pandupura* not far off from the city of *Sāvatthi*, where dwelt a certain fisherman who on his way to *Sāvatthi* saw some tortoise eggs lying on the bank of *Aciravati*. In the *Dhammapada Āṭṭhakathā* (Vol. I, pp. 359-360) we are told how *Pasenadi*'s son *Vidūḍabha* met the *Sākyas* in battle on the bank of the *Aciravati* river and completely routed them. In vain did the Buddha try to save the *Sākyas*. But *Vidūḍabha* and his army

also met with destruction ; the Aciravati overflowed and carried all into the sea. In the *Digha Nikāya* (Vol. I, p. 235) we read that once the Buddha went to *Manasākāta*, a brahmin village in the Kosala country and dwelt at *Ambavana* on the bank of the river *Aciravati* to the north of *Manasākāta*.

*Aciravati* is the river *Rapti* in Oudh, on which the town of *Sāvatthī* was situated. It was also called *Ajiravati* and its shortened form is *Airāvati*. It is a tributary of the river *Sarayū*.

At the time of his great Retirement the Buddha took with him *Channa*, his courtier, and *Kaṇṭhaka*, *Anomā*. *Anomā* his horse. He left *Kapilavatthu* and proceeding to the bank of the river *Anomā*, he retired from the world and adopted the life of a monk (Dh. A., I, p. 85).

According to Cunningham, *Anomā* is the river *Aumi*, in the district of Gorakhpur. But Carlleyle identifies the river *Anomā* with the *Kudawa Nadi* in the *Basti* district of Oudh.

In the *Majjhima Nikāya* (Vol. I, p. 39) we are told that *Bāhukā* and *Bāhu-* while *Bāhukā*, *Sundarikā*, *Sarasvati* and *Bāhumati* were rivers, *Gayā* and *Payāga* *mati*. *Bāhumati* were tirthas only, or ghats on the *Ganges*. *Bāhukā* may be the *Bāhudā* river of the *Mahābhārata* and *Harivainīśa*, identical with the river *Dhabala* now called *Dhumela* or *Burha Rāpti*, a feeder of the *Rāpti* in Oudh. Pargiter, however, identifies it with *Rāmagangā* which joins the *Ganges* near the *Kanoj*. As regards *Bāhumati*, an identification may be suggested with *Bāgmati*, a sacred river of the Buddhists in Nepal. *Bāgmati* is called *Bachmati* as it was created by the Buddha *Krakucchanda* by word of mouth during his visit of Nepal. Its junction with the rivers *Maradārika*, *Manisrohi*, *Rājamañjari*, *Ratnāvali*, *Chārumati*, *Prabhāvati*, and *Triveni* form the tirthas called *Śānta*, *Śāṅkara*, *Rājamañjari*, *Pramodā*, *Sulakeshana*, *Jayā* and *Gokarna* respectively (*Svayambhū Purāna*, Chap. V; *Varāhapurāna*, Chap. 215).

The river *Campā* formed the boundary between *Āṅga* and *Magadha* (Campa-*peyya Jātaka*—*Jāt.*, IV, p. 454).

It is mentioned in the *Anguttara Nikāya*, Vol. IV, p. 101, as a lake, but has not yet been identified.

*Eni*. *Eni* has been referred to in the *Baka-Brahma Jātaka* (*Jāt.*, III, 361).

The river *Gangā* has been mentioned frequently in ancient Pāli literature, and is identical with the great sacred river on the banks of which

the drama of Indian history has so often been enacted—the *Ganges* which is famous in early, mediæval and modern history of India. According to the *Sigāla Jātaka* (*Jāt.*, Vol. I, p. 502) she flowed by the city of *Bārāṇasi*. There is a confluence

between this river and Yamunā (Sumanagalavilāsini, II, p. 652).

From the Sumanagalavilāsini (pt. I, p. 279) we learn that Gaggarā pokkharanī. the Buddha taught the people of Campā the dhamma on the bank of Gaggarā tank. We are told that it was dug by the queen Gaggarā, and was not far off from the city of Campā.

The Sālavana of the Mallas of Kusinārā was on the bank of the river Hirafīfiavati (DN., II, p. 137). Hirañnavati. The Hirañnavati is the Little Gandak and the same as Ajitavati near Kusinārā or Kusinagara. It flows through the district of Gorakhpur about eight miles west of the Great Gandak and falls into the Gogrā (Sarayū).

Jetavanaloka. It is mentioned in the Samuddavānija Jātaka (Jāt., IV, p. 158) as a tank, but it has not yet been identified.

Kebuka. The Kākāti Jātaka (Jāt., III, p. 91) states Kebuka to be a river; but it is difficult to identify it.

The Kimchanda Jātaka (Jāt., Vol. V, p. 2) refers to Kosiki. Kosiki as a branch of the Ganges. It is identical with the river Kusi.

It is stated in the Vessantara Jātaka (Jāt., Vol. VI, p. 518) Ketumati. that the King Vessantara with his wife and children proceeded to Gandhamādana.

Then setting his face northward he passed by the foot of Mount Vipula and rested on the bank of the river Ketumati. He crossed the stream and then went on to the hill called Nālika. Still moving northward he reached the lake Mucalinda.

While going to Kusinārā from Rājagaha, the Buddha had to cross the river Kakutthā. Having crossed the river he arrived at Ambavana and then proceeded to the Malla's Sāla-grove near Kusinārā.

Kakutthā is the small stream Barhi which falls into the Chota Gandak, eight miles below Kasia. Carleyle has identified it with the river Ghāgi, one and half miles to the west of Chitiyaon in the Gorakhpur district. Lassen identifies Kakanthis of Arrian with the river Bāgmati of Nepal.

Kaddama-daha, a river on the bank of which Mahā-kaccāna once took up his residence for Kaddama-daha. some time, has been mentioned in the Anguttara Nikāya (Vol. I, p. 65).

In the Anguttara Nikāya (Vol. IV, p. 354) we are told Kimikāla. that once while the Buddha was staying at Cālikā on the Cālikāpabbata the venerable Meghiya sought the permission of the Buddha to go to Jantugāma. While returning from the village after his meal he reached Kimikāla.

It has been described as a lake in the *Kunāla Jātaka* (Jāt., V, p. 419; AN., IV, p. 101) but has *Kuṇāla* not yet been identified.

*Kappnamundā* has been described in the *Ānguttara Nikāya* (Ibid.) as a river, but has not yet been *Kappnamundā* identified.

*Khema*, a lake that was excavated by the King of Benares named *Bahuputtaka* (*Hamsa Jātaka*, Jāt., IV, p. 424).

A lotus lake near the city of *Sakula* in the kingdom of *Mānusīya*. *Mahimāsaka* (*Cullahaṁsa Jātaka*, Jāt., V, p. 337) which, however, is difficult to be identified.

*Maṅgalapokkharani* has been described in the *Atthasālini* (*Mangalapokkharani*, p. 33) that while he was sitting on the bank of the *Maṅgalapokkharani*, the Buddha got the news of Rāhula's death.

Once the Buddha dwelt at *Vaisāli* in the *Kūṭāgārāsālā* *Markata-hrada* on the bank of the lake *Markaṭa* (Dvd., p. 200).

*Mahi*, one of the five great rivers (AN., IV, p. 101, *Milinda-pañha*, p. 114; S. Nip., p. 3) mentioned *Mahi*. in Pali literature. The river *Mahi* is a tributary of the *Gandaka*.

*The Mīgasammatā*, a river, had its source in the *Himavanta* *Mīgasammatā* and had fallen in the *Ganges* (cf. ' *Himavantato Gaṅgam patti*', Jāt., VI, p. 72).

*Rathakāra*. *Rathakāra* has been described as a lake in the *Ānguttara Nikāya* (Vol. IV, p. 101).

*The Rohanta-Mīga-Jātaka* (Jāt., Vol. IV, p. 413) describes *Rohanta* as a lake which however has not been identified.

*Rohinī* has been referred to in the *Jātakas* (*Rukkhadhamma Jātaka*, Jāt., Vol. I, p. 327; *Phandana Jātaka*, Jāt., Vol. IV, p. 207)

as a river. Once a quarrel broke out among the *Sākiyas* and the *Koliyas* regarding the possession of the river *Rohinī*. But the Buddha succeeded in restoring peace among his kinsfolk. *Rohinī* formed the boundary between the *Sākyas* and the *Koliya* countries.

*Sappini*, a river, in *Rājagaha* (SN., I, p. 153). In the *Sappini*. *Ānguttara Nikāya* (Vol. II, p. 29) we are told that the Buddha once went from the

*Gijjhakūṭa* mountain at *Rājagaha* to the bank of the river *Sappini* to meet some wanderers. The *Pañchāna* river is perhaps the ancient *Sappini*.

The *Samyutta Nikāya* (Vol. V, p. 297) describes Sutanu as Sutanu. a river on whose bank Anuruddha stayed for once.

**Mandākinī**, a river (AN., IV, p. 101). It is the Kāligāngā or the western Kāli or Mandāgni, which rises in the mountains of Kedāra in Gharwal. It is a tributary of Alakānandā.

Cunningham, however, identifies it with Mandākin, a small tributary of Paisundi in Bundelkhand which flows by the side of Mount Chitrakūta.

After the attainment of the Perfect Enlightenment the Buddha dwelt at Uruvelā in the Ajapāla Nerañjarā. Nigrodha on the bank of the river Nerañjarā. It is the river Phalgu mentioned in Asvaghosa's *Buddhacarita*. Its two branches are the Nilājanā and the Mohanā, and their united stream is called Phalgu. Buddhagayā is situated at a short distance to the west of the Nilājanā or Niranjanā which has its source near Simeria in the district of Hazaribagh.

It is said that the Kinnari Manoharā, wife of Prince Satadru. Sudhanu who was the son of Suvāhu, King of Hastināpura, while going to the Himalayas, crossed the river Satadru and proceeded to the Mount Kailash (A Study of the Mahāvastu, p. 118). Satadru is modern Sutlej, a tributary of the Ganges.

**Sundarikā**. Sundarikā has been described in the *Samyutta Nikāya* (Vol. I, p. 167) as a river in Kosala.

**Sumāgadhā**. A tank near Rājagaha (*Samyutta*, Vol. V, p. 447).

**Simbali**. It is mentioned in the Kākāti Jātaka (Jāt., Vol. III, p. 90) as a lake.

**The Milindapañho** (p. 114) refers to Sarabhū as a river issuing forth from the Himavanta. It is Sarabhū. Ghagra or Gogra, a tributary of the Ganges on which stood the city of Ayojhā. It is the Sarabos of Ptolemy, and is one of the five great rivers mentioned in early Pāli literature.

**Sarassati** is evidently the Sanskrit Sarasvatī mentioned in Vedic and Brahmanical literature. According to the Brāhmaṇas, the Kāv-yamimāṁsā and Manu Saṁhīta, it formed the western boundary of the Brahmanical *Madhyadeśa*. According to the Milindapañho (p. 114) the Sarassati issued forth from the Himavanta. It rises in the hills of Sirmur in the Himalayan range called the Sewalik and emerges into the plains at Ād-Badri in Ambala. Like the Ganges, the river Sarassati or Sarasvatī is considered as sacred by the Hindus.

Uhā.

The river Uhā was in the Himavanta (Milindapañho, p. 70).

Vidhavā.

Vidhavā, a river in the Himavanta (cf. 'Anto Himavante'; Jāt., Vol. III, p. 467).

Vetravati, a river, is mentioned in the Milindapañho (p.

Vettavati or Vetravati. 114). From the Mātaṅga Jātaka (Jāt., Vol. IV, p. 388) we know that the city of Vettavati was on the banks of the river

of that name. It is the river Betwa in the kingdom of Bhopal, an affluent of the Jumnā, on which stands Bhilsā or the ancient Vidisā.

The river Vetravati is referred to in the Samyutta (Vol. I, p. 21) where it is stated to be the river

Vetarāni. Yama (cf. Yamassa Vetaranīm). The

Buddhist tradition, therefore, seems to support the Brahmanical tradition of the Vitarāni being the Yama's river. In this river the hellish creatures suffer (cf. Jāt., V, p. 276).

It is the river Vitarāni in Orissa and is mentioned in the Mahābhārata (Vana P. Chap. 113) as being situated in Kalinga. It is again identified with the river Dantura which rises near Nāaik and is in the north of Bassein. This sacred river is said to have been brought down to the earth by Parasurāma (Padma and Matsya Purānas). According to the Mahābhārata (Vana P. Chap. 83) it is a river in Kurukshetra. It is further identified with a river in Gharwal on the road between Kedara and Badrinātha.

Yamunā is one of the five great rivers mentioned in early Pāli literature (AN., IV, p. 101, SN., Vol.

Yamunā. II, p. 135; Vol. V, pp. 401, 460, 461).

It is the modern Jumna.

The Ahogaṅgā-pabbata is a mountain in India. It is said that the venerable Moggaliputta Tissa

Mountains, Hills, Caves, etc.—Ahogaṅgā Pabbata. the thera Mahinda, went to the Ahogaṅgā mountain near the source of the Ganges

(Mv., p. 51).

The Sarabhaṅga Jātaka (Jāt., Vol. V, p. 134) refers to the Arañjarā. Anañjara which seems to be a chain of mountains in the Central Provinces.

The Anoma and Asoka mountains do not seem from their description in the Apadāna (pp. 345 and Anoma and Asoka. 342 respectively), to have been far off from the Himavanta.

According to the Apadāna (p. 50), the Cittakūta mountain was not also very far off from the Cittakūta. Himavanta. It has, however, been identified with Kāmptanāth-giri in Bundelkhand. It is an isolated hill on a river called the Paisuni or Mandākini.

It is about four miles from the Chitrakūta station of the G.I.P. Railway.

The Cāvala mountain has been described in the Apadāna Cāvala. to be not far off from the Himavanta (Apadāna, p. 451).

We find mention of the Cittala mountain not only in the Cittala. Atthasālinī (p. 350), but also in the Visuddhimagga (p. 292). In the latter there is also a reference to a vihāra on it.

The Atthasālinī also refers to the Cetiya Pabbata (p. 200) Cetiya which, however, is difficult to be identified.

According to the reference in the Digha Nikāya, (Vol. II, Corapapāta. p. 116) the Corapapāta seems to have been a hill near Rājagaha.

Dandakahurañña pab- This mountain seems to have been bata. located in the Himavantapadesa (Jāt., Vol. II, p. 33).

In the Gaṅgamāla Jātaka (Jāt., Vol. III, p. 452) we are told that a certain ascetic came from Gandhamādana. the mountain Gandhamādana to Benares to see the king. It is a part of the Rudra Himalaya, but according to the epic writers it forms a part of the Kailāsa range.

The Gayāśīrṣa mountain is situated at Gayā from where Gayā-śīrsa. the Gotama Buddha went to Uruvilva for the attainment of Perfect Enlightenment. (A Study of the Mahāvastu, p. 81.)

According to the description given in the Apadāna (p. 162) Gotama. the Gotama mountain seems to be not far off from the Himavanta.

Gijjhakūta is a mountain in Magadha (VV.C., p. 82). It is so called because its peak is like a vulture (Papañcasudani, II, 63). According to Cunningham it is a part of the Sailagiri, the vulture peak of Fahien and Indasilāguhā of Yuan Chwang. It lies two miles and a half to the south-east of new Rājgir. It is also called Giriyeik hill.

In the Ānguttara Nikāya the Himavanta is mentioned as the Pabbatarāja (AN., I, p. 152). We Himavanta. are told in the Kunāla Jātaka (Jāt., Vol. V, pp. 412 foll.) that once there broke out a quarrel between the Koliyas and the Sakiyas regarding the possession of the river Rohini which flows between the Sākiya and Koliya countries. Buddha, however, succeeded in settling the dispute. Many Koliya and Sakiya people were ordained. But spiritual discontent sprang up among them. The Blessed one conducted these brethren to the Himalayas and after illustrating the sins connected with woman-kind by the Kunāla

story, and removing their discontent, bestowed upon them the stage of sanctification. The Master transported them to the Himalayas and standing in the sky pointed out to them in a pleasant tract of the Himalayas various mountains: Golden mount, Jewel mount, Vermillion mount, Collyrium mount, Tableland mount, Crystal mount, and five great rivers, and the seven lakes, Kannamundaka, Rathakāra, Sihappapāta, Chadanta, Tiyaggala, Anotatta, and Kunāla.

In the *Milindapañho* (p. 114) it is stated that 500 rivers issued forth from the Himavanta and that of these ten are important. They are: *Gangā*, *Yamunā*, *Aciravati*, *Sarabhū*, *Mahi*, *Sindhu*, *Sarassati*, *Vetravati*, *Vitamsā* and *Candabhāgā*.

It is stated in the *Digha N.*, (Vol. II, pp. 263-4, 269) that *Indasāla* Cave. to the east of Rājagaha was the Brahmin *Indasāla* village of Ambasandā. To the north of Ambasandā was the *Indasāla* Cave in the *Vediyakapabbata* which however seems to be the same as the *Gijjhakūṭapabbata*. In the Barhut inscriptions, the name of the cave is however given as *Indasālaguhā* which has been identified with the *Giriye* hill six miles from Rājgir.

*Indakūṭa*. *Indakūṭa* is near Rājagaha (SN., I, p. 206).

*It is near Rājagaha*. It is one of the groups of hills above *Isigilpassa*. *Rājagaha*, namely, *Gijjhakūṭa*, *Vebhāra*, *Pāndava* and *Vepulla*.

*Kukkura*, *Kosika*, and *Kadamba*. These pabbatas are stated in the *Apadāna* (pp. 155, 381 and 382 respectively) to be not very far off from the Himavanta.

*The Kālāgiri* is mentioned in the *Vidhura Pandita Jātaka Kālāgiri*. (Jāt., Vol. VI, p. 302). This *Kālāgiri* is the same as the *Kālapabbata* mentioned in the same *Jātaka*.

*The Kuraraghārapabbata* is in *Avanti*. *Mahākaccāna* once dwelt in this mountain (AN., V, p. 45).

*Kālasilā*. *Kālasilā* is at Rājagaha (DN., II, p. 116).

*Manosilā*. *Monosilā*, a mountain (Kumbhakāra Jātaka, Jāt., III, p. 379).

*Manipabbata*. It is in the *Himavanta* (Jāt., Vol. II, p. 92).

*Mahākāla*. It is a mountain in the *Himavanta* (Jāt., Vol. V, p. 38).

*It is referred to* in the *Therīgāthā* Commentary (p. 150), and is identical with the *Rudra* *Himālaya* in *Gharwal* where the river *Ganges* takes

its rise. It is near the *Badarikā* *Āśram*, and is probably the *Mount Meros* of *Arrian*.

The Nerupabbata is in the Himavanta (*Milindapañho*, p. 129). In the *Neru Jātaka* (Jāt., Vol. III, 247), it is called the Golden mountain. It is a legendary name of Mount Vepulla (SN., II, pp. 190-1).

It is at Rājagaha. According to the *Samyutta Nikāya* (Vol. V, p. 79) thera Mahākassapa resided in the Pippaliguhā pabbata.

Pāṇdavapabbata is mentioned in the *Athasālinī* (p. 34).

All these mountains are in the Himavanta probably meaning thereby that they are names of different parts or peaks of the great Himalaya mountain (Jāt., V, 415 and Jāt., II, p. 6 respectively).

The First Buddhist Council was held at Rājagaha in the Sattapanni cave of the Vebhāra pabbata under the presidency of Mahākassapa and under the patronage of Ajātasattu (*Samantapāsādikā*, p. 10).

Suvannaguhā. It is in the Cittakūṭapabbata which is in the Himavantapadesa (Jāt., Vol. III, p. 208).

Suvannapabbata and Sānupabbata Both are mentioned in the Jātakas (Jāt., Vol. II, p. 92 and Jāt., Vol. V, p. 415) to be in the Himavantapadesa.

In the *Dhammapada* Commentary (Vol. I, p. 107) we are told that the Mount Sineru was sixty-eight thousand leagues high. It is described as a mountain in the *Kulāvaka Jātaka* (Jāt., Vol. I, p. 202) as well.

Setapabbata. It is in the Himalayas (SN., I, p. 67) to the east of Tibet.

Sumsumāragiri. The *Samyutta Nikāya* (Vol. III, p. 1) seems to locate it in the Bhagga country.

Sappasondika-pabbāra. It is at Rājagaha (DN., II, p. 116).

Vepulla. This is a mountain in Magadha. Vebhāra is a mountain in the Magadha country. In the Vimbānavatthu Commentary (p. 82) we are told that the city of Giribbaja was encircled by the mountains Isigili, Vepulla, Vebhāra, Pāndara and Gijjhakūṭa.

Vedisagiri. In the *Samanta-Pāsādikā* (p. 70) we are told that Mahinda who was entrusted with the work of propagating Buddhism in Ceylon, in course of his journey from Pātaliputta, halted at the Dakkhināgiri janapada (Vedisā), the capital of which was Ujeni. He stayed at the Vedisagiri Mahāvihāra which was built by his mother and thence he went to Tambapanni.

In the *Digha Nikāya* (Vol. I, pp. 47, 49) we are told that once the Buddha dwelt at Rājagaha in the Parks, Forests and Jungles—*Ambavana*. It was here that Ajātasattu, the king of Magadha, came to see the Buddha. In the *Digha Nikāya* (Vol. II, p. 134) we are told in connection with the Buddha's journey from Rājagaha to Kusinārā that the Buddha crossed the river Kakutthā and went to the *Ambavana*. In the *Samyutta* (Vol. IV, p. 121) we are informed that once the venerable Udāyin stayed at Kāmandā in the *Ambavana* of the brahmin Todeyya. *Ambavana* is a thicket of mango trees (*Sumaṅgalavilāsini*, II, 399).

In the *Digha Nikāya* (Vol. II, p. 94) we find that the *Ambapālivana* Buddha once went from Nādikā to Vesāli and dwelt in the *Ambapālivana* in Vesāli. This park was a gift from the courtesan named *Ambapāli*.

The *Ambātakavana* is mentioned in the *Samyutta Nikāya* (Vol. IV, p. 285). It is stated that many *Ambātakavana* bhikkhus dwelt at Macchikāvanasanda in the *Ambātakavana*. Citta, the householder, it is said, invited them to his house and had many philosophical discussions with them.

*Anupiya-Ambavana*. The *Anupiya-Ambavana* was in the *Mallarāṭṭha* (*Manorathapūrani*, p. 274).

*Añjanavana* (*Añca-navana*). The Buddha once dwelt in the Deer Park in the *Añjanavana* at Sāketa (SN., I, p. 54; V, pp. 219, 73).

*Andhavana*. The *Andhavana* is referred to as located in Sāvatthi (SN., V., p. 302).

It is mentioned in the *Milindapañho* (p. 130). According to Mr. Pargiter, it comprised all the forests from Bundelkhand to the river Krishnā. The *Dandakarañña* along with the *Vinjjhas* thus practically separated the Majjhimadesa from the *Dakkhiṇāpatha*.

*Icehānangala-vanasanda*. The Buddha once stayed at the brāhmaṇagāma of *Icehānangala* in the *Icehānangala-vanasanda*. This is in Kosala (AN., III, pp. 30, 341; IV, p. 340). It is also mentioned in the *Sutta Nipāta* (p. 115).

The *Jetavana* is frequently mentioned in Pāli literature. In the *Digha Nikāya* (Vol. I, p. 178) we are told that once the Buddha dwelt at

*Jetavana* in the pleasure garden of *Anāthapindika* at Sāvatthi. There the Buddha spoke on the subject of right training to *Potthapāda*, the wanderer. The *Jetavana* is one mile to the south of Sāvatthi which is identified with modern Sahet-Maheth. It was a gift from the merchant named *Anāthapindika* to the Buddha and the Order.

Jātiyavana. It is in the country of the Bhaddiyas (Anguttara, Vol. III, p. 36).

In the Manorathapūrāṇi (p. 100) we are told that the Kappāsiyavanasānda. Buddha converted the Tīrṣṇa Bhadda-vaggiyā bhikkhus at Kappāsiyavanasānda.

Ketakavana. The Ketakavana is in Kosala near the village of Nālakapāna (Nālāpāna Jātaka, —Jāt., Vol. I, 170).

It is at Rājagaha (AN., II, pp. 35, 172, 179; III, p. 35; Kalandakanivāpa. IV, pp. 402). In the Majjhima Nikāya (Vol. III, p. 128) we are told that once the Buddha dwelt in the Kalandakanivāpa at Veluvana in Rājagaha.

In the Monorathapūrāṇi (p. 100) it is said that at Latthivana King Bimbisāra was converted by Latthivana. the Buddha. It is about two miles north of Tapovana in the district of Gayā.

The Lumbinivana is referred to in the Buddhacarita (I, Lumbinivana. Verse 23; XVII, Verse 27) as situated in Kapilavatthu which is the birth place of the Buddha. Lumbini is Rumminidei in the Nepalese Terai, 2 miles to the north of Bhagavanpur and about a mile to the north of Paderia.

Mejjhāraññam and Mātangaraññam. These two forests are mentioned in the Milindapañhō (p. 130).

Makkarattha. It is a forest in Avanti. Mahākaccāna resided there in a leaf-hut (SN., IV, p. 116).

It is at Kapilavatthu (SN., I, p. 26). According to Mahāvana. Buddhaghosa, it is a natural forest outside the town of Vaiśālī lying in one stretch up to the Himalayas. It is so called on account of the large area covered by it (Smv., I, 309; cf. SN., I, pp. 29-30).

Madda-Kucchi-migadāya. It is at Rājagaha (SN., I, p. 27). The Buddha once went from the Gijjhakūṭa to the Mora Mora Nivāpa. Nivāpa which was on the bank of Sumā-gadhā (DN., III, p. 39). It is at Rājagaha (AN., I, p. 291).

In the Visuddhimagga, the Nandanavana, the Missakavana Nandanavana. and the Phārusakavana are all referred to (p. 424).

Nāgavana. It is in the Vajji countries and is near Hattigāma (AN., IV, p. 213).

Once the Buddha lived in the Pāvārikambana at Nālandā. Pāvārikambavana. There he spoke on the subject of miracles to Kevaddha, the son of a householder (DN., I, p. 211).

Once the Buddha stayed at Bhesakalāvana Migadāya in the Sūrīsumāragiri of the Bhaggas (AN., Bhesakalāvana. Vol. II, p. 61; III, p. 295; IV, pp. 85, 228, 232 and 268).

Once the venerable Kumāra Kassapa with a company of the bhikkhus went to Setavya in the Sīmsapāvana. Sīmsapāvana. Kosalā country. He dwelt in the Sīmsapāvana to the north of Setavya (DN., II, p. 316). There is a Sīmsapāvana in Kosambi (SN., Vol. V, p. 437). There is also another Sīmsapāvana near Ālāvi (AN., Vol. I, p. 136).

Sitavana. It is at Rājagaha (SN., I, pp. 210-212). It is in the Malla territory. It was here that the Buddha Upavattana Sālavana. attained the Mahāparinibbāna (DN., II, p. 169).

Veluvana. It is at Rājagaha (SN., I, p. 52).

Velukāntaka. It is in Dakkhinagiri (AN., IV, p. 64).

There is a reference to the Vindhya forest in the Dipavamsa (15, 87). Aritṭha, one of the ministers of Devanāmpiyatissa, who had been sent by the Ceylonese King to Asoka, King of Magadha, for a branch of the Bodhi Tree, had to go through the Vindhya forest while going to Pātaliputra.

Viñjhātavi comprises portions of Khandesh and Aurangabad, which lie on the south of the western extremity of the Vindhya range, including Nasik. The forest, therefore, should, strictly speaking, be located in the Dakkhināpatha.

Cetiyas, Ārāmas, Vihāras, etc.—Aggālava. The Aggālava temple is referred to in the Tipallattha Miga Jātaka (Jāt., Vol. I, 160).

Asokārāma. The third Buddhist Council was held at Pātaliputta in the Asokārāma at the time of King Asoka (Samantapāsādikā, p. 48).

Badarikārāma. It is in Kosambi (Tipallatthamiga Jātaka (Jāt., Vol. I, 160).

Bahuputta. Bahuputta. a Cetiya in Vesāli (DN., II, p. 118).

In the Saṃyutta Nikāya (Vol. V, pp. 259-60) we find the Cāpāla Cetiya. Buddha speaking of three beautiful Cetiyas of Vesāli (AN., IV, p. 309), e.g., the Cāpāla Cetiya (named after a Yakkha of this name), the Sattambha Cetiya (DN., II, 118) and the Sārandada Cetiya (named after a Yakkha of this name).

The Buddha speaks very highly of the Cetiyas of Vesāli. Gotama and other Cetiyas of Vesāli. They are: Udena, Gotamaka, Sattambha, Bahuputta, Sārandada and Cāpāla (DN., II, p. 118; AN., Vol. IV, p. 309). In the Dīghanikāya (Vol. III, pp. 9, 10) we are told that to the east of Vesāli was the Udena Cetiya, to the south was the Gotamaka Cetiya,

to the west was the Sattamba Cetiya, and to the north was the Bahuputta Cetiya.

It was at Kosambi (DN., I, pp. 157, 159; SN., II, p. 115).

Ghositarāma. A monastery built by a banker named Ghosita is called Ghositarāma (Papāñca-sūdanī, II, p. 390).

Giñjakāvasatha. It was at Nadikā near Pātaliputta (AN., III, pp. 303, 306; IV, p. 316; V, p. 322).

Kassapakārāma. It was at Rājagaha (SN., III, p. 124).

Kukkutārāma. It was at Pātaliputta (SN., V, pp. 15, 17, 171, and 173).

Kutagārasāla. It was at Vesāli (SN., I, p. 29).

The Kālakārāma was in Sāketa. We are told that once when the Buddha was dwelling at the Kālakāvana in Sāketa, he spoke of some qualities that were possessed by him.

Markata hradatūra-cetiya. There is a reference to a Cetiya on the bank of the Markata-hrada where the Buddha once stayed (A Study of the

Mahāvastu, p. 44).

Nigrodhārāma. It was at Rājagaha (DN., II, p. 116).

Once the Buddha dwelt in the palace of Migāramātā in the Pubbārāma. Pubbārāma at Sāvatthi. It was here that Aggafūṇa Suttanta was delivered by the Buddha (DN., III, p. 80).

Paribbājakārāma. It was at Rājagaha (SN., II, p. 33).

Salalāgāra. It was at Sāvatthi. Anuruddha is said to have resided there (SN., V, p. 300).

It is referred to in the Visuddhimagga (p. 96); and it was

Tulādhārapabbata Vihāra. in this Vihāra that the Mahādhammarakkhita thera lived. It was situated in the Rohana Janapada which was on the other

side of the Ganges.

In the Samantapāsādikā (pp. 33-34) we find that the Vaj-Valukārāma. jiputtaka bhikkhus of Vesāli declared the ten Indulgences. This led to the inauguration of the Second Buddhist Council which was held during the reign of Kālāsoka at Vesāli in the Vālukārāma.

It was a monastery in the ancient Vaggi country (Mv., p.

Mahāvana vihāra. 24). It is also mentioned by Fahien in his travels.

Dakkhinañagiri vihāra. It was a vihāra in Ujjeni (Mv., p. 228).

It was a vihāra near Sāvatthi in the Kosala country where the Buddha lived for some time Jetavana vihāra. (Dv., p. 21; Mv., p. 7).

## CHAPTER II

### THE UTTARĀPATHA OR NORTHERN INDIA

Nowhere in Brahmanical or Buddhist literature is mentioned the four boundaries of the Uttarā-patha. According to the Brahmanical tradition as recorded in the *Kāvyamimāṃsā* (p. 93), the Uttarā-patha or Northern India lay to the other, i.e., the western side of Prithudaka (Prithudakāt parataḥ Uttarāpathah) or Pehoa, about 14 miles west of Thāneswar. Other Brahmanical sources, e.g., the Dharmasūtras of Vaśistha, Baudhāyana and Manu, purport to furnish practically the same evidence, i.e., the Uttarā-patha lies to the west of the place where the Sarasvatī disappears. But our knowledge of the eastern boundary of Uttarā-patha is derived only in connection with the boundaries of the Madhyadeśa as given in the texts referred to above. There is nowhere any independent evidence of the boundaries of Uttarā-patha as such. It is interesting to note that the Brahmanical definition of Āryāvarta excludes the greater portion of the land of the Rigvedic Aryans, which, however, is included in the Uttarā-patha. Thus the entire Indus valley which was the cradle of the Rgvedic culture and civilisation is practically outside the pale of Manu's Madhyadeśa or Baudhāyana's Āryāvarta, but is included in Uttarā-patha according to the *Kāvyamimāṃsā*.

The Buddhist northern division is also to be located, as in Brahmanical texts, to the west of the Brahman district of Thūna (Sthūna) or Thaneswar as recorded in the *Mahāvagga* and the *Divyāvadāna*. There too the boundaries of Uttarā-patha as such are not recorded; its eastern boundary alone can be derived from the western boundary of the Majjhimadesa.

There are numerous references to Uttarā-patha in Pāli literature. In the Hāthigumphā inscription of King Khāravela, we are told that King Khāravela was able to strike terror into the heart of the King of Uttarā-patha. He compelled King Bahasatimita of Magadha to bow down at his feet. Khāravela's Uttarā-patha probably signifies the region including Mathurā in its south-eastern extension up to Magadha. From the prologue of Book V of the *Suttanipāta* (p. 190), it appears the Dakkhināpatha lent its name to the region through which it passed—the whole tract of land lying to the south of the Ganges and to the north of Godāvāri being known, according to Buddhaghosa, as Dakkhināpatha or the Deccan proper (VT., *Mahāvagga*, V, 13; *Cullavagga*, I, 18, p. 362). Uttarā-patha too may be supposed to have been originally a great

trade route—the northern high road, so to speak, which extended from Sāvatthī to Takkasīlā in Gāndhārā, and have lent, precisely like the southern high road, its name to the region through which it passed, i.e., the region covering, broadly speaking, the north-western part of the United Provinces, and the whole of the Punjab and the North-Western Frontier Provinces. But this definition of Uttarāpatha is nowhere explicitly stated in Pāli literature. It is, therefore, not at all improbable that Uttarāpatha in Pāli literature might have also signified the same region, i.e., the entire northern India from Aṅga in the east to Gāndhārā in the north-west and from the Himalayas in the north to the Vindhyaś in the south as understood by its later and wider sense (i.e., the whole of Āryāvarta), e.g., in the Cālukya inscriptions of the 7th and 8th centuries A.D.

Bānabhatta, the author of *Harsha-Carita*, however, uses the word Uttarāpatha in its narrower sense and seems to include within the region so named the western part of U.P., the Punjab and the North-Western Frontier Provinces. According to Chinese Buddhist writers, northern India 'comprised the Punjab proper including Kashmir and the adjoining hill states with the whole of eastern Afganisthan beyond the Indus, and the present Cis-satlej States to the west of the Saraswati river' (CAGI., p. 13).

In the *Anguttara Nikāya*, Gāndhārā is included in the list of the sixteen Mahājanapadas (AN., I., Two Mahājanapadas p. 213; IV, pp. 252, 256, 260). The (i) Gāndhāra Gāndhāras were a very ancient people. Their capital Takshasīlā is also mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* in connection with the story of King Janamejaya who is said to have conquered it.<sup>1</sup> The kingdom of Gāndhārā included Kāshmir and the Takshasīlā region (PHAI., p. 93).<sup>2</sup> Gāndhārā comprises the districts of Peshawar and Rawalpindi in the northern Punjab as we find in the *Mahāvārinsa* (Geiger's tr., p. 82, n. 2) wherein it is stated that after the dissolution of the Third Buddhist Council, Moggaliputtatissa thera sent Majjhantika thera to Kāsmira-Gāndhārā for propagation of the Buddhist faith.<sup>3</sup> Gāndhārā thus comprised the whole

1 'The Purāṇas represent the Gāndhārā kings as the descendants of Druhyu (Matya, 48. 6; Vāyu, 99. 9). This king and his people are mentioned several times in the Rgveda. In the Vedic Index (I, 385) it is stated that from the tribal grouping it is probable that the Druhyus were a north-western people. Thus the Puranic tradition about the connection of the Gāndhāras with Druhyu accords with Vedic evidence.' (PHAI., p. 93.)

2 We find it otherwise in Jāt., III, 365.

3 Dr. Rāchāndhuri points out (PHAI., p. 93) that the inclusion of Kāshmir in the Gāndhārā kingdom is confirmed by the evidence of Hekataios of Miletos (B.C. 549-486) who refers to Kaspapyros=Kāsyapapura, i.e., Kāshmir (cf. Rājatarangini, I, 27) as a Gandaric city.

of the districts of Peshawar and Rawalpindi in the northern Punjab. Takkasilā or Taxila was the capital city of the Gandhāra kingdom, and according to the Jātakas (Telapatta Jātaka, 96, Susima Jātaka, 163) it lay 2,000 leagues from Benares. In the time of Nimi, King of Videha, Durmukha, King of Pātīchāla and Bhima, King of Vidarbha, the throne of Gandhāra was occupied by Naggaji or Nagnajit (Kumbhakāra Jātaka; Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, VII, 34; Sat. Brāhmaṇa, VIII, 1.4.10).<sup>1</sup> In the Kumbhakāra Jātaka we are told that Naggaji's capital was Takkasilā.

The Jātakas testify to the evidence of trade relations between the Kashmir-Gandhāra kingdom and Videha (Jāt., III, pp. 363-369). In the Niddeśa we are told (P.T.S., Vol. I, p. 154) that in Taxila people used to flock in the wake of trade and commerce to earn money. The king ruling in Gandhāra contemporaneously with King Bimbisāra of Magadha was Pukkusāti who is said to have sent an embassy and a letter to his Magadhan contemporay as a mark of friendship. He is also said to have waged a war on King Pradyota of Avanti who was defeated.

The Behistun inscription of Darius (C. 516 B.C.) purports to record that Gadara or Gandhāra was one of the kingdoms subject to the Persian Empire, it, therefore, appears that some time in the latter half of the 6th century B.C., the Gandhāra kingdom was conquered by the Achæmenid kings. In the time of Asoka, however, Gandhāra formed a part of the empire of the great Buddhist Emperor; the Gandhāras whose capital was Takkasilā are mentioned in his Rock Edict V.

Kamboja is mentioned along with Gandhāra in the Ānguttara Nikāya (I, p. 213; Ibid., IV, pp. 252, 256, 261) as one of the sixteen great countries of India. In the Paramatthadipani on the Petavatthu (P.T.S., p. 113) Dvārakā occurs along with Kamboja. But it is not expressly stated if Dvārakā was the capital of the Kamboja country. Dvārakā, in fact, was not really a city of Kamboja; nowhere in early or later Pāli literature there is any mention of the capital city of the Kamboja people,<sup>2</sup> nor of the location of their country, though it is certain that Kamboja must be located in some part of north-west India not far from Gandhāra.

<sup>1</sup> PHAI., p. 93.

<sup>2</sup> 'We learn from a passage of the Mahābhārata that a place called Rājapura was the home of the Kambojas (Mahābhārata, VII, 4, 5; "Karna Rājapuraḥ gatvā Kāmbojā nirjīta stvayā"). The association of the Kambojas with the Gandhāras enables us to identify this Rājapura with the Rājapura of Yuan Chwang which lay to the south or south-east of Pūnch (Watters, Yuan Chwang, Vol. I, p. 284). The western boundaries of Kamboja must have reached Kafiristan, and there are still in that district tribes like "Camojees", "Camoze" and "Camoje" whose names remind us of the Kambojas.' (PHAI., p. 95.)

Nandipura seems to be the only city of the Kambojas that is known from Luder's Inscriptions, Nos. 176 and 472.

In the *Sumāngalavilāsini* (I, p. 124), we are told that Kamboja was the home of horses. The commentary on the *Kunāla Jātaka* (Jāt., V, p. 446) gives us to know how the Kamboja people caught horses in the forest. In one of the *Jātakas* (Jāt., Cowell, VI, 110 note) we are informed that the Kambojas were a north-western tribe who were supposed to have lost their original Aryan customs and to have become barbarous. In the *Bhūridatta Jātaka* (Jāt., VI, p. 208) we are told that many Kambojas who were not Aryans told that people were purified by killing insects, flies, snakes, frogs, bees, etc. The *Jātaka* tradition is corroborated by that contained in Yāśka's *Nirukta* as well as in Yuan Chwang's account of Rājapura and the adjoining countries of the north-west. The *Nirukta* would have us believe that in Yāśka's time the Kambojas had come to be regarded as a people distinct from the Aryans of India proper, speaking a different dialect. Speaking of Rājapura, Yuan Chwang says, 'From Lampa to Rājapura the inhabitants are coarse and plain in personal appearance, of rude violent disposition.... they do not belong to India proper but are inferior peoples of frontier (i.e., barbarians) stocks' (Watters—Yuan Chwang, I, pp. 284 ff.).

It is stated in the *Sāsanavamsa* (P.T.S. 49) that in the 235th year of the *Mahāparinibbāna* of the Buddha, Mahārakkhita thera went to the Yonaka Province and established the Buddha's sāsana in Kamboja and other places. The Kambojas are mentioned in the Rock Edicts V and XIII of Asoka. They occupied roughly the province round about Rajaori, or ancient Rājapura, including the Hazārā district of the North-Western Frontier Province.

The *Mahāvamsa* (Geiger's tr., p. 194) refers to the town of Alasanda which was the chief city of Janapadas, Nigamas, Puras, Gāmas, etc.— the Yona territory. Geiger identifies Alasanda with the town of Alexandria founded by Alexander near Kabul in the Paropanisadae country. In the *Milindapañho*, however, Alasanda has been described as an island where in the village of Kalasigāma King Milinda was born (Trenckner, *Milindapañho*, pp. 82 and 83; CHI., p. 550).

From the *Sivi Jātaka* (Jāt., IV, p. 401) we know that Aritthapura was the capital of the Sivi kingdom. Several *Jātakas* mention (e.g., Nimi *Jātaka*, No. 541) a king named Usinara and his son Sibi; but whether this prince Sibi had anything to do with the Sibi people or their country, it is difficult to ascertain.

In a passage of the *Rgveda* (VII, 18. 7) there is a mention of the Siva people along with the Alinas, Pakthas, Bhalānasas and Viśāṇins. Early Greek writers also refer to a country in

the Punjab as the territory of the Siboi. It is highly probable that the Śiva country of the *Rgveda*, the Sibi country of the *Jātakas* (Ummadanti *Jātaka*, No. 527; *Vessantara Jātaka*, No. 547) and the Siboi country of the Greek geographers are one and the same. *Patañjali* mentions a country in the north called Śiva-pura (IV, 2, 2) which is certainly identical with Sibipura mentioned in a Shorkot inscription. (Ep. Ind., 1921, p. 6.) The Śiva, Sibi or Siboi territory is, therefore, identical with the Shorkot region of the Punjab—the ancient Sivapura or Sibipur.<sup>1</sup>

Besides *Aritthapura* there was another city of the Sibi kingdom called *Jetuttara* near Chitor (*Vessantara Jātaka*, No. 547).

In the *Ghata Jātaka* (Jāt., Vol. IV, p. 79) we are told that Asitañjana *Nagara*. a king named *Mahākamsa* reigned in *Uttarāpatha*, in the *Kamsa* district, in the city of Asitañjana which, however, is difficult to be identified.

*Uttarakuru* is often mentioned in Pāli literature as a mythical region. It has also been mentioned in Vedic and later Brahmanical literature as a country situated somewhere north of Kāshmir.

*Kalasigāma* was the birth place of King *Milinda* (*Milinda-pañho*, p. 83); it was situated in the Island of *Alasanda* or *Alexandria*.

According to a *Jātaka* story (No. 406) the kingdom of Kāsmira. Kāsmira was included in the *Gandhāra* Kingdom. It is stated in the *Mahāvaiśa* that after the dissolution of the Third Buddhist Council, *Moggaliputta Tissa* thera sent *Majjhantika* thera to Kasmira-Gandhāra for propagation of the Buddhist faith. (See ante: *Gandhāra*). During the reign of *Asoka*, Kāsmira was included in the *Maurya* dominion. This is proved by the testimony of *Yuan Chwang* (Watters, I, pp. 267-71).

The *Dīpavāiśa* (p. 16) refers to the *Kurudipa* which, however, may be taken to be identical with *Uttarakuru*.

*Takkasilā* (Sans. *Takshasilā*) was the capital city of the *Gandhāra* kingdom, and according to the *Jātakas* (*Telapatta Jātaka*, No. 96; *Susima Jātaka*, No. 163) it lay 2,000 leagues from Benares as already pointed out. In Pāli literature *Takkasilā* has been frequently mentioned as a great seat of learning in Ancient

<sup>1</sup> The *Mahābhārata* (III, 130-131) refers to a *rāshtra* of the Śivas ruled by King *Uśinara*, which lay not far from the *Yamunā*. It is not altogether improbable that the *Uśinara* country was at one time the home of the Śivas. We find them also in *Sind*, in *Madhyamikā* in *Rājputānā* (Vaidya—Med. Hindu India, I, p. 162; Carmichael Lectures, 1918, p. 173) and in the *Dāsakumāra-Carita*, on the banks of the *Kāverī*. (PHAL, pp. 155-56, also f.n., No. 2.)

India. In the *Vinaya Piṭaka* (Mahāvagga, pp. 269-270) it is stated that Jivaka, the royal physician received his education in medicine and surgery there. In the *Jātakas* (I, p. 259; V, pp. 161, 210, 457) we are told that princes from various kingdoms went to Taxila for education. In one of the *Jātakas* (Jāt., I, p. 447) it is stated that a young man of the Lālā country went to Taxila for education. In another *Jātaka* (Jāt., II, p. 277) a very beautiful picture of the student life of those days has been drawn. From the *Cittasambhūta Jātaka* (Jāt., IV, p. 391) we learn that education was eligible for upper classes alone, the brāhmaṇas and khattiyaś. Of the subjects taught, the first three Vedas and eighteen *Vijjās* are mentioned. Some of the *Vijjās* taught at Taxila are also mentioned in the *Jātakas*, e.g., the art of archery (Jāt., I, p. 356), the art of swordsmanship and the various arts (Jāt., V, p. 128.) The *Susima Jātaka* (Jāt., II, p. 47) tells us that Bodhisatta, the son of a priest who was a *Hatthimāṅgalakāraka* to the King of Benares, travelled a distance of 20,000 *yojanas* and went to Takkasīlā to learn *Hatthisuttam*. References to Ālambanamantam (mantam for charming snakes) and *Nidhiuddharanamantam* as taught in Taxila are made in the *Campeyya Jātaka* (Jāt., IV, p. 457) and the *Vrahāchatta Jātaka* (Jāt., III, p. 116) respectively.

From the *Divyāvadāna* (p. 371) it appears that Takkasīlā was included in the empire of Bindusāra of Magadha, father of Asoka. Once when during his reign there was a rebellion in Takkasīlā, he sent his son Asoka to put down the rising. From the minor Rock Edict II of Asoka it seems that Takkasīlā was the headquarter of the Provincial Government at Gandhāra and was placed under a *kumāra* or viceroy. According to the *Divyāvadāna*, a rebellion again broke out in Takkasīlā during the reign of Asoka, and the latter sent his son *Kunāla* to put down the disturbances.

Takkasīlā is identified with Taxila in the district of Rawalpindi in the Punjab.

Tidasapura. In the *Samantapāśādikā* (p. 179) there is a reference to *Uttarakuru* and its city

Tidasapura.

Maddarattha. Maddarattha is not mentioned in the list of the sixteen *Mahājanapadas*.

In the *Milindapañho* we are told that King Milinda (Menander), a powerful Græco-Bactrian King, ruling over the Madda country with Sāgala as his capital became a convert to Buddhism (S.B.E., Vol. XXXV, p. 6). That Sāgala or Sākala (modern Sialkot in the Punjab) was the capital of the Madra country is also attested to by the *Mahābhārata* (II, 32, 14)—‘*Tataḥ Sākalama-bhyetva Madrānām putabhedanam*’, as also by several *Jātakas* (e.g., the *Kāliṅgabodhi Jātaka*, No. 479; the *Kusa Jātaka*,

No. 531). The Madras had a monarchical constitution and their territory may be said to correspond roughly to Sialkot and its adjacent districts which were known as late as the 18th century as the Madradeśa.

In one of the Jātakas (Cowell's Jātaka, V, pp. 146-147) we are told that King Okkāka had a son named Kusa who married a daughter of the King of Madda. It is further stated that King Okkāka went with a great retinue from Kusāvati, his capital, to the city of Sāgala, capital of the Madda King. From the Kālingabodhi Jātaka (Cowell's Jātaka, IV, pp. 144-145) we know that a matrimonial alliance was established between the King of Madda and the King of Kalinga. Another matrimonial alliance of the Madda King was made with the royal house of Benares (Chaddanta Jātaka—Cowell's Jātaka, V, p. 22). The Mahāvamsa (p. 70) tells us that in Sihapura, on the death of King Sihavāhu, his son Sumitta became king, and married the daughter of the Madda King and had three sons by her.

It is referred to in the Rock Edicts V and XIII of Asoka.

Nābhaka. The Nabhapantis of Nābhaka<sup>1</sup> must be looked for somewhere between the North-West Frontier and the western coast of India.

The Yonaka or Yona country was visited, according to Yona or Yonaka. the Dipavamsa and Mahāvamsa (Chap. XII) by the Thera Mahārakkhita. According to the Sāsanavamsa (p. 12) the Yonakaratttha is the country of the Yavana or Yona people. The Rock Edicts V and XIII of Asoka mention the Yonas as a subject people, forming a frontier district of Asoka's Empire. The exact situation of the Yonaka country is difficult to be determined. According to the Mahāvamsa, its chief city was Alasanda identified with Alexandria near Kabul in the Paropanisadae country (Mahāvamsa, tr., p. 194; Trenckner, Milindapañho, p. 82).

Anotatta has been mentioned as a lake in the Anguttara Nikāya (IV, p. 101) and is included in the Rivers, Lakes, Tanks, etc.—Anotatta. list of the seven great lakes in the Himalayas (Dv. and Mv.). Buddha is said to have visited the lake many a time. It is generally supposed that the Anotatta or Anavatapta lake is the same as Rawanhrad or Langa. But Spence Hardy considers it to be an imaginary lake (Legends and Theories of the Buddhists, p. 129).

Uhā. The river Uhā is stated in the Milindapañho (p. 70) to have been located in the Himavanta.

<sup>1</sup> In the Rock Edicts V and XIII of Asoka, the Yonas, Kambojas, Gāndhāras, Rāshtrikas-Pitnikas, Bhojas Nābhapantis, Andhras and Pulindas are mentioned. We have to take these names as those of subject people, forming some of the frontier districts of Asoka's Empire.

In the *Milindapañho* (p. 114) we are told of the five hundred rivers that issued forth from the Candabhāgā. Of these rivers ten are said to be important: Gaṅgā, Yamunā, Aciravati, Sarabhū, Mahi, Sindhu, Sarassati, Vetravati, Vitamsā and Candabhāgā.

The Candabhāgā (Sans. *Candrabhāgā*) is the Chināb, the Acesines of the Greeks or the Asikni of the *Rgveda*, a tributary of the Indus or the Sindhu.

Vitamsā (*Milindapañho*, p. 114) represented by the Sanskrit *Vitastā* is the river Jhelum, the Hydaspes of the Greeks.

It has been described in the *Kunāla Jātaka* (Jāt., Vol. V, p. 415) as a lake in the Himavanta. *Sīhappapāta* Tiyaggala has been described in the same *Jātaka* to be another lake in the Himavanta.

Of the five hundred rivers referred to in the *Milindapañho* as issuing from the Himavanta (p. 114), Sindhu is one of the most important. It is the river Indus, the Sintu of the Chinese travellers.

*Āñjana* has been described in the *Sarabhaṅga Jātaka* (Jāt., Vol. V, p. 133) as a mountain situated in the Mahāvana or Great Forest. It is the Sulliman range in the Punjab.

*Anoma, Asoka, and Cāvala* These are mountains not far from the Himavanta (*Apadāna*, pp. 342, 345 and 451 respectively).

In the *Abbhantara Jātaka* (Jāt., II, p. 396) we are told that the Kañcana pabbata is in the Himavanta. From the *Nimi Jātaka* (Jāt., VI, p. 101) we know that it is in the Uttara Himavanta.

*The Nisabha pabbata* is not far off from the Himavanta (*Apadāna*, p. 67). It is the mountain which lies to the west of the *Gandhamādana* and north of the Kabul river called by the Greeks *Paropanisos*, now called the Hindukush.

*Nandamūlappabhāra* The *Nandamūlappabhāra* is in the Uttara Himavanta (Jāt., II, p. 195).

### CHAPTER III

## APARĀNTAKA OR WESTERN INDIA

According to the Brahmanical tradition recorded in the Kāvyamimānsā (p. 93), the country lying to the west of Devasabhā (a city on a mountain not yet identified) was called the Paścātdeśa or the Western Country (Devasabhāyāḥ parataḥ paścātdeśāḥ, tatra Devasabha-Surāshṭra-Daseraka-Travaṇa-Bhrigukaccha-Kacchīya-Ānarta-Ārvuda-brāhmaṇavāha-Yavana-prabhritayo janapadāḥ). Devasabhā is also referred to in the Arthaśāstra (Sanskrit text, p. 78) as producing red sandal. According to the Buddhist tradition recorded in the Sāsanavāmsa (p. 11), Aparāntaka is, however, the region lying to the west of the Upper Irawady. According to Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, Aparānta was the Northern Konkan, whose capital was Surpāraka (mod. Sopārā); while according to Bhagavānlal Indraji the western sea-board of India was called Aparāntaka or Aparāntika. Yuan Chwang, the celebrated Chinese Buddhist traveller, seems, on the whole, to be more definite on this point. According to his account, the Western Country seems to comprise 'Sindh, Western Rajputana, Cutch, Gujarat and a portion of the adjoining coast on the lower course of the Narmadā, three states—Sindh, Gurjara and Valabhi' (CAGI., Notes, p. 690).

The Dipavāmsa (p. 54) and the Mahāvāmsa (Ch. XII) state that Yona Dhammarakkhita, a Buddhist missionary, was sent to Aparāntaka for the spread of Buddhism there.

Asitamasā is referred to in the Barhut inscriptions (Barua and Sinha, p. 32). Cunningham locates Janapadas. Nigamas, Puras, Gāmas, etc.—it somewhere on the bank of the Tamasā or Ton river. The Vāmana Purāna mentions Asinīla and Tāmasa among the Asitamasā. countries of Western India.

In the Sussondi Jātaka (Jāt., III, pp. 187 ff.) we read of the minstrel Sagga's journey from Benares to Bharukaccha. Bharukaccha. It was a seaport town from which ships used to sail for different countries. In one of the Jātakas it is stated that some merchants once sailed from Bharukaccha to Suvaṇṇabhūmi (identified with Lower Burma). In the Divyāvadāna (pp. 544-586) there is a very interesting story accounting for the name of the city. It is said that Rudrāyana, King of Roruka (may be identical with Alor, an old city of Sindh), in Sauvira was killed by his son Sikhandī. As a punishment of this crime, the realm of Sikhandī, the parricide king, was destroyed by a heavy shower of sands.

Three pious men only survived—two ministers and a Buddhist monk—who went out in search of a new land. Bhiru, one of the two ministers at least found one and established a new city there which came to be named after him—Bhiruka or Bhirukaccha whence came the name Bharukaccha.

Bhrigukaccha is, however, the Sanskrit rendering which means 'high coast land' and the city is exactly situated on a high coast land. According to Brahmanical tradition, the city was so called because it was founded by the sage Bhrigu (Imp. Gaz. of India, IX, p. 30). Bhrigukaccha is mentioned in the Kūrmavibhāga and Bhuvanakoṣa; and it is identical with Barygaza of Ptolemy (pp. 38 and 152) and the Periplus of the Erythrean Sea (pp. 40 and 287). It is modern Broach in Kathiawar.

Cikula is mentioned in the Barhut inscriptions (Barua and Sinha, p. 14). The location of the place Cikula. is unknown. One of the Nasik Cave inscriptions (Lüder's list, No. 1133) mentions Cikhala Padra as a village. Cikula, Cekula=Ceula, probably Caul near Bombay (Ep. Ind., II, p. 42).

We are told in the Mahāvamsa (Ch. XII) that Mahā-dhammarakkhita was sent to spread the Mahārattha. gospel of the Buddha in the Mahārattha. According to the Sāsanavamsa (pp. 12, 13), it is, however, Mahānagararattha or Siam. Mahārattha is the present Maratha country, the country watered by the Upper Godāvari and that lying between that river and the Krishnā.

Nāsika is mentioned in the Barhut inscriptions (p. 16). Nāsika. It is Nasika or Naisika of the Purāṇas and Janasthāna of the Rāmāyana. According to the Brahmānda Purāṇa, it was situated on the Nar-mada. Janasthāna, as it appears from the Ramayanic description, was within the reach of Panchavati on the Godāvari. Janasthāna came to be known as Nāsika from the circumstance that here Surpanakhā's nose was cut off by Lakshmana. Nāsika is modern Nasik which is about 75 miles to the north-west of Bombay. During the reign of the Sātavāhana kings of Andhra, Nāsika was a stronghold of the Bhadrayaniya School of Buddhists (Lüder's list, Nos. 1122–1149).

Vijaya, son of King Sihavāhu of Lālārattha in Western Naggadipa. India, was driven out of the kingdom of his father. He with his 700 men was thrown into the sea in boats. Their wives also shared the same fate. Vijaya with his followers landed in the Naggadipa and the women in the Mahilādipa. Vijaya with his men again sailed from Naggadipa and reached Suppāraka and thence went to Sihaladipa (Mv., p. 60). It is interesting to note that Yuan Chwang speaks of a kingdom in the north-west India

ruled over by women. Is it possible to identify the *Strirājya* of Yuan Chwang with the *Mahilādipaka* of the *Mahāvāimsa*?

In the *Divyāvadāna* (pp. 544 foll.) we read that Pātaliputta and Roruka were two important cities.

Roruka. It is said that King Rudrāyana of Roruka was a contemporary of King Bimbisāra of Magadha and they became intimate friends. There was then a brisk trade between Rājagaha and Roruka. It is said merchants from Rājagaha went to Roruka for trade.

It is mentioned in the Barhut inscriptions (p. 32). The location of the place is unknown. The *Seriyāputa*.

*Serivānija Jātaka* (Fausboll, *Jātaka*, No. 3) mentions a kingdom by the name of Seriva. The city of Andhapura could be reached by the merchants from Seriva by crossing the river Telavāha. It seems that Seriyāputa was, like Suppāraka and Bharukaccha, an important port on the western coast of India.

In the *Āditta Jātaka* (*Jāt.*, Vol. III, p. 470) mention is made of the kingdom of Sovira of which

Sovira. the capital was Roruka. Sovira has been identified by Cunningham with Eder, a district in the provinces of Gujarat at the head of the Gulf of Cambay. The name Sindhu-Sauvira suggests that Sovira was situated between the Indus and the Jhelum.

Suppāraka was a seaport town (Dh.C, II, p. 210).

Suppāraka. Suppāraka is Sanskrit *Surpāraka*, and is mentioned in the *Dīpavāmsa* (p. 55) and *Mahāvāmsa* (p. 60) as well. It is identical with *Supārā* or *Sopāra* in the district of Thānā, 37 miles north of Bombay and about 4 miles north-west of Bassein.

According to the *Sarabhaṅga Jātaka* (*Jāt.*, V, p. 133) a stream called *Sātodikā* flowed along the

Suratṭha. borders of the Suratṭha country which is represented by Sanskrit *Surāshtra*, the Su-la-cha of Yuan Chwang. According to the Chinese pilgrim, its capital lay at the foot of Mt. Yuh-shan-ta (Pkr. *Ujjanta*, Skr. *Urjayat* of Rudradāman's and Skandagupta's inscriptions, and is identical with modern Junāgad, the ancient *Girinagara*, i.e., *Girnār*). Suratṭha comprises modern Kathiawad and other portions of Gujarat.

Lājaratṭha is mentioned in the *Dīpavāmsa* (p. 54) and *Mahāvāmsa* (p. 60) as a kingdom ruled

Sīhapura and Lājaratṭha. over by a King named *Sīhavāhu*. Lājaratṭha is Sanskrit *Lātarāshṭra* and is evidently

identical with the old *Lāta* kingdom of Gujarat, the Larike of Ptolemy (p. 38), the capital city of which is stated in the *Dīpavāmsa* (p. 54) to have been *Sīhapura*.

**Khuramāla**, a sea. Merchants who set sail from Bharukaccha had to go through the Khuramāla Seas, Rivers, Water-falls, etc.—Khuramāla. sea. Here, it is stated, fishes with bodies like men, and sharp razor-like spouts, dive in and out of the water (Suppāraka Jātaka, Jāt., Vol. IV).

**Sātodika.** A river in the Surattha country (Jāt., Vol. III, p. 463).

Here the water is sucked away and rises on every side, and Valabhā-mukha Sea. the water thus sucked away on all sides rises in sheer precipices leaving what looks like a great pit (Jāt., IV, p. 141).

**Nalamāla Sea.** It had the aspect of an expanse of reeds or a grove of bamboos (Jāt., IV, p. 140).

**Nilavaṇa-Kusamala Sea.** It had the appearance of a field of corn (Jāt., IV, p. 140).

The Hīngula pabbata is in the Himavantapadesa (Jāt., V, Mountain—Hīngula. p. 415). Hīnglāj is situated at the extremity of the range of mountains in Beluchisthan called by the name of Hīngulā, about 20 miles or a day's journey from the sea-coast, on the bank of the Aghor or Hīngulā or Hīngol river near its mouth (GD., p. 75).

## CHAPTER IV

### DAKKHINĀPATHA OR THE DECCAN AND THE FAR SOUTH

According to the Brahmanical tradition as contained in the *Boundaries*. Kāvyamīmāṁsā, Dakshināpatha is the region lying to the south of Māhiṣmatī ('Māhiṣmatyāḥ parataḥ Dakshināpathaḥ') which has been identified with Māndhātā on the Narmadā. From the definitions of Madhyadeśa as given by Vasiṣṭha and Baudhāyana (I, 8; I, 1, 2, 9, etc., respectively) it seems that the Dakshināpatha region lay to the south of Pāripātra which is generally identified with a portion of the Vindhya. The Dharmasāstra of Manu seems, however, to corroborate the boundary as given by the Sūtra writers, for, from Manu's boundary of the Madhyadeśa, it is evident that the Southern Country or the Dakshina janapada lay to the south of the Vindhya (see *ante*: *Boundaries of the Madhyadeśa*).

The Buddhist tradition as to the northern boundary of the Dakkhināpatha is, however, a bit different. The Mahāvagga and the Divyāvadāna seem to record that the Dakkhina janapada lay to the south of the town of Satakannika, a locality which has not yet definitely been identified (see *ante*: *Boundaries of Majjhimadesa*). The Vinaya Piṭaka, however, uses the term Dakkhināpatha in a much narrower sense (Vol. I, pp. 195, 196; Vol. II, p. 298) and refers to it as a region confined to a remote settlement of the Aryans on the Upper Godāvari. Buddhaghosa, the celebrated Buddhist commentator, defines Dakkhināpatha or the Deccan as the tract of land lying to the south of the Ganges (SMV., I, p. 265) and was the same as Dakkhina Janapada. As we have already pointed out that from the prologue of Book V of the Sutta Nipāta, it appears that the Dakkhināpatha lent its name to the region through which it passed—i.e., the whole tract of land lying to the south of the Ganges and to the north of the river Godāvari being known (according to Buddhaghosa) as Dakkhināpatha or the Deccan proper (cf. Vinaya-Mahāvagga, V, 13; Vinaya-Cullavagga, XII, I).

The region lying south of the river Godāvari seems to have been little known to the early Buddhists; and it seems that the earliest intimate knowledge of the geography of the country, now known as the Far South, was acquired not earlier than the suzerainty of Asoka. Ceylon, to the early Buddhists, was undoubtedly known, but the island was reached more often by sea than by land.

The word 'Dākshinātya' is mentioned by Pāṇini (IV, 2, 98); whereas Dakshināpatha is referred to by Baudhāyana who couples it with Saurāshtra (Bau. Sūtra, I, 1, 29). But, it is difficult to say what Pāṇini and Baudhāyana mean exactly by Dākshinātya or Dakshināpatha.

Strictly speaking, portions of the two Mahājanapadas namely, the Assaka and the Avanti mahā-janapadas were included in the Dakkhināpatha or the Deccan. According to the Mahāgovinda Suttanta (DN., II, p. 235), the capital of the kingdom of Avanti was Māhissati or Māhiṣmati (sans) identical with Māndhātā on the Narmadā.<sup>1</sup> The Avanti kingdom of the Mahāgovinda Suttanta was evidently the Avanti-Dakshināpatha (CL., p. 45) as distinguished from the Avanti kingdom of the Madhyadeśa whose capital was Ujjain.

The Assaka country was situated on the banks of the Godāvari (S. Nip., 977); strictly speaking, therefore, the Assaka Mahājanapadas should also be included in the Dakkhināpatha. This is corroborated by the fact that the grammarian Pāṇini mentions Aśmaka (sanskrit form of Assaka) with reference to Dākshinātya (IV, 2, 98) and Kalinga (IV, 1, 178), and that Assaka is invariably mentioned in early Pali literature along with Avanti.

A colonial projection of the Kosala Mahājanapada of the Madhyadeśa was also situated in the Dakkhinā janapada. Dakshina Kosala is referred to in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta during whose reign it was ruled over by King Mahendra who was defeated by the Gupta monarch. The country is also mentioned in the itinerary of Yuan Chwang who locates Kosala in the southern division. South Kosala comprised the whole of the upper valley of the Mahānādi and its tributaries, from the source of the Narmadā on the north to the source of the Mahanādi itself on the south and from the valley of the Wengāngā in the west to the Hasda and Jonk rivers in the east (CAGI., p. 735). According to Dr. H. C. Ray Chaudhuri it 'comprised the modern Bilaspur, Raipur and Sambalpur districts, and occasionally even a part of Ganjam. Its capital was Śripura, the modern Sirpur, about 40 miles east by north from Raipur' (PHAI., pp. 337-338). Dakkhinakosala was also known as ahākosala.

From the Hāthigumpha inscription it is clear that King Arakatapura. Khāravela conquered Arakatapura inhabited by a race of magicians called

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Ray Chaudhuri (PHAI., p. 92 n.) points out that there is one difficulty in the way of accepting this identification. Māndhātā lay to the south of the Pāriyātra Mts. (western Vindhya), whereas Māhiṣmati lay between the Vindhya and the Riksha (to the north of the Vindhya and to the south of the Riksha) according to the commentator Niilakantha) Hv., II, 38. 7-19.

Vidyādhara. Arakata or Arakāla is the same kind of geographical name as Parakāta, Bhojakata, etc. Phonetically it is the same name as modern Arcot. Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar is of opinion that the Sora of Ptolemy (cf. Aroati regia Sora) 'can easily be recognised to be the Tamil Sora or Choda'.

In the *Dhammapadatthakathā* (Vol. I, p. 83), there is a reference to the city of Amarāvati. It is Amarāvati. stated that the Buddha in one of his previous births as a brahmin youth named Sumedha was born in that city. It is identical with modern city of Amaraoti close to the rivers of Dharanikotta (a mile west of ancient Amarāvati on the Krishnā famous for its ruined stūpa).

A brahmin youth after completing his education at Takka-silā (Taxila), then a great seat of learning, Andhradeśa. came to the Andhra country to profit by practical experience (Jāt. I, pp. 356 ff.). The people of Andhradeśa, i.e., the Andhras, are also referred to in the Rock Edicts V and XIII of Asoka as a vassal tribe. Andhradeśa is the country between the Godāvari and the Krishnā including the district of Krishnā. The capital of the Andhradeśa seems to have been Dhanakataka which was visited by Yuan Chwang. But the earliest Andhra capital (Andhapura) was situated on the Telavāha river, identical probably with modern Tel or Telingiri both flowing near the confines of the Madras Presidency and the Central Provinces. (PHAI., p. 196 and f.n. 4).

References to the Bhoja country in Pali Buddhist literature are not uncommon. In the *Saṃyutta Bhoja Country.* Nikāya (Vol. I, pp. 61-62) we find mention of a Rāsi named Rohitassa Bhojaputta, as also of sixteen Bhojaputas in a Jātaka story (Jāt., I, p. 45). Bhoja coincides with Berar or ancient Vidarbha, and Chammaka, four miles south-east of Elichpur in the Amaraoti District.

In the Barhut inscriptions (Barua and Sinha, pp. 7 and 27) there is a reference to Bhojakāta. The *Sabbhāparva* of the Great Epic (Chap. 30) mentions Bhojakāta and Bhojakatapura as two places in the south conquered by Sahadeva. If Bhojakāta be the same as Bhoja or Bhojya of the Purāṇas, then it must be a country of the Vindhya region. The expression *Dandakyabhoja* in the Brāhmaṇas may indicate that the Bhojakāta was either included within or within the reach of Dandaka. It is clear from the *Mahābhārata* list that Bhojakāta (identical with Elichpur) was distinct from Bhojakatapura or Bhojapura, the second capital of Vidarbha (modern Berar). In the *Khila Harivamśa* (Viṣṇu Purāṇa, LX, 32) Bhojakāta is expressly identified with Vidarbha.

In the inscriptions of Asoka (R.E. XIII) the Bhoja-Pitinikas are referred to. They undoubtedly held the present Thānā and Kolābā districts of the Bombay Presidency.

The Colarattha is in Southern India. We are told in the *Mahāvamsa* (pp. 166, 197 foll.) that the Colarattha. Damilas who once invaded Laṅkā came from the Coḷa country in Southern India. In the same chronicle we read of Damiḷa named Elara who ruled over Ceylon and was noted for his piety and justice. The Damilas were, however, driven out of Laṅkā by Duṭṭhagāminī, the greatest king that ever ruled over the island.

In the Rock Edicts II and XIII of Asoka, Coda is mentioned as an unconquered frontier kingdom (*amītā avijitā*) along with Pāṇḍya, Satiyaputra, Keralaputra, Tambapanni and the realm of Amtiyako Yonarājā.

The Coḷas are mentioned in the Vārtikas of Kātyāyana as well as in the Epics. Coḷa or Coda is Tamil Sora and is probably identical with Sora (cf. Sora Regia Arcati) of Ptolemy. Yuan Chwang's record of the Chu-li-ye or Jho-li-ye country is most probably with reference to the Coḷa country, but he describes Chu-li-ye as a wild jungle region. The Coḷa capital was Uraiur (Sanskrit Uragapura); and their principal port was at Kāviripattanam or Pugār on the northern bank of the Kāveri.

In the Akitti Jātaka (Jāt., IV, 238) as well as in the Ceylonese chronicles, Dipavamsa and the Damilarattha. *Mahāvamsa*, mention is made of the Damilarattha or the kingdom of the Damilas. The Damilas are, however, identified with the Tamils. Kāviripatṭana was a sea-port town in the Damila kingdom which is generally identified either with the Malabar coast or Northern Ceylon.

The place is mentioned in the Barhut inscriptions. The Gola or Gula. location of the place is, however, unknown. The Purāṇas mention Gulangula as a country in the Deccan.

Keralaputta is referred to in Rock Edicts II and XIII of Keralaputta Asoka along with the Coda, Pāṇḍya, Satiyaputra, Tambapanni kingdoms of the Far South. Asoka was in terms of friendly relations with these kingdoms. Later on the country came to be popularly known as the Cera kingdom which lay to the south of Kupāka (or Satya), extending down to Kannati in Central Travancore (Karunagapalli Taluk). South of it lay the political division of Mūshika (J.R.A.S., 1923, p. 413). It, therefore, roughly comprised South Canara, Coorg, Malabar and north-west parts of Mysore with perhaps the northernmost portion of Travancore.

Early Pali literature throws little light on the history or Kalinga. geography of the Kalingarattha. The inscriptions of Asoka tell us that Asoka in the 13th year of his reign conquered the kingdom of Kalinga and incorporated it into his own empire. From the Kalinga

Edict I, it appears that a Kumāra was in charge of Kalinga with his headquarters at Tosali (Tosala)<sup>1</sup> or Samāpa.<sup>2</sup>

In the Hāthigumpha inscription we are told that King Khāravela brought back to his realm, from Anga-Magadha, the throne of Jina which had been carried from Kalinga by King Nanda. It appears from the record of Khāravela's 8th regnal year that Khāravela stormed Goratthagiri, a stronghold of the Magadhan army in the Barabar hills, and caused a heavy pressure to be brought to bear upon the citizens of Rājagaha, the earlier capital of Magadha. From the record of the 12th regnal year, it appears that King Khāravela also compelled King Bahasatimita of Magadha to bow down at his feet.

Khāravela has been described in his own inscription as Kalingādhipati, and in the inscription of his chief queen as Kalinga Cakkavatti. The Hāthigumpha inscription clearly shows that the capital of Kalinga during the reign of Khāravela was Kalinganagara which has been satisfactorily identified with Mukhalingam on the Vamēadharā and the adjacent ruins in Ganjam district, Madras Presidency.

According to the Mahāvastu (Senart's Ed., III, p. 361) Dantapura which is mentioned by Yuan Chwang as a city of the Kalinga country was a capital city. Evidently it was the capital of the Kalinga kingdom (according to Mahāvastu), and existed ages before the Buddha (Jāt., II, p. 367). 'Probably it is the Dantapura where Krishna crushed the Kalingas (Udyoga-parva, XLVII, 1883); Dandagula or Dandaguda, the capital of Calinga, mentioned by Pliny shows that the original form was Dantakura and not Dantapura' (CAGI., p. 735).

According to the Raghuvamīśa (IV, 38-43) the Kalinga country lay to the south of Vaṅga beyond the river Kapisā (modern Kāsāi on which stands Midnapore) and stretched southwards so far as to include Mt. Mahendra (portions of the Eastern Ghats above the river Godāvari). According to the Mahābhārata (Vanaparva, CXIV, 10096-10107) the ancient Kalinga country seems to have comprised modern Orissa to the south of the Vaitarāṇī and the sea coast southward as far as Vizagapatam and its capital was Rājapura (Sāntiparva, IV). According to the Kurma Purāṇa (II, XXXIX, 19) it included the Amarakanṭaka hills. (CAGI., pp. 734-735).

<sup>1</sup> 'Tosali (variant Tosala) was the name of a country as well as a city. Lévi points out that the Gandavyūha refers to the country (Jana-pada) of "Amite Tosala" in the Dakshināpatha, "where stands a city named Tosala." In Brahmanical literature Tosala is constantly associated with (south) Kosala and is sometimes distinguished from Kalinga. The form Tosalei occurs in the Geography of Ptolemy. Some medieval inscriptions (EP. Ind. IX, 286; XV, 3) refer to Dakshina Tosala and Uttara Tosala.' (PHAI., p. 191.)

<sup>2</sup> For the identification of Samāpa, see IA., 1923, pp. 66 ff.

In the Vessantara Jātaka (Jāt., VI, p. 514) we are told that the village of Dunnivittha was a Dunnivittha. brāhmaṇagāma in the Kalingarattha.

Purikā is referred to in the Barhut Inscriptions (Barua and Purikā. Sinha, p. 14). It is Pulika of the Mahā- bhārata, Purikā of the Khila-Harivamśa

and Paurika and Saulika of the Purāṇas. In the Purāṇas, this is included in the list of countries of the Deccan. In the Vāyu, the Brahmānda and the Agni, it is mentioned before Dandaka, while in the Vāmana, it occurs after Dandaka but before Sārika. In the Khila-Harivamśa (Viṣṇupurāṇa, XXXVIII, 20-22), the city of Purikā is placed between two Vindhya ranges, near Māhiṣmati and on the bank of a river flowing from the Rikshavanta mountain.

The Pāṇḍiyas (Pāṇḍyas) are mentioned in the R.E. II and III of Asoka. Their country lay outside Pāṇḍiyas. the southern frontiers of his vast kingdom.

Asoka was in friendly terms with the Pāṇḍiyas who had probably two kingdoms, one including Tinnevelly on the south and extending as far north as the high lands in the neighbourhood of the Coimbatore gap, the other including the Mysore State.

In the Mahāvamsa we read that Vijaya, King of Ceylon, married a daughter of the Pāṇḍu King whose capital was Madhurā or Mathurā in southern India. Madhurā (Dakshina Mathurā) is Madura in the south of the Madras Presidency. Another capital was probably at Kolkai. The rivers Tāmraparṇi and Kritamālā or Vaigai flowed through it.

In Khāravela's inscriptions, we have mention of a place Pithudaga. founded by the former kings of Kalinga and known by the name of Pithuḍaga or Pithuḍa, which had become, in 113 years, a watery jungle of grass.

Pithudaga is the same as Sanskrit Prithudaka and Pithuda is but a shortened form of Pithuḍaga. In the Gaṇḍavyūha we find a reference to Prithurāshtra, which is evidently not different from what Ptolemy in his Geography calls Pitundra which is but the Greek form of Pithunda.

Prof. Sylvain Levi draws our attention to the story of Samudrapāla in Sec. XXI of the Jaina Uttarādhyayana-Sūtra in which there is mention of Pithunda as a sea-coast town reminding us at once of Khāravela's Pithuda-Pithudaga and Ptolemy's Pitundra.

Prof. Levi says that Ptolemy locates Pitundra in the interior of Maisolia between the mouths of the two rivers Maisolos and Manadas, i.e., between the delta of the Godāvāri and the Mahānadi nearly at an equal distance from both. It would, therefore, be convenient to search for its location in the interior of Chikakole and Kalingapatnam, towards the course of the river Nāgāvati which bears also the name of Lānguliya.

The Pulindas are mentioned in Rock Edict XIII of Asoka as a vassal tribe along with the Andhras, Pulindas. and Bhojas. In a passage of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (VII, 18) the Pulindas are mentioned along with the Andhras; in the Purāṇas (Matsya 114, 46-48 and Vāyu, 45, 126), however, they are mentioned with the Sabares and are referred to as Dakṣināpathavāśinā together with the Vaidarbhas and the Dāndakas. The Mahābhārata (XII, 207, 42) also places the Pulindas, Andhras and the Sabares in Dakṣināpatha. Pulindanagara, the capital of the Pulindas, was situated near Bhilsā in the Jubbalpore district of the Central Provinces. The Pulinda kingdom must have certainly included Rupnath, the findspot of one version of Asoka's Minor Rock Edicts.

Satiyaputta is referred to in Rock Edict II. It has been differently identified by different scholars.

Satiyaputta. Some identify it with Satyabrata-Kshetra or Kanchipura (e.g., Venkateswara, J.R.A.S., 1918, pp. 541-42), others (Bhandarkar and Aiyangar) with Sātpute, still others (Smith, Asoka, p. 161) with Satyamangalam Taluk of Coimbatore and yet others (E. J. Thomas, J.R.A.S., 1923, p. 412) who prefer to identify it with Satyabhumi, a territory which corresponds roughly to North Malabar including a portion of Kasergode Taluk, South Canara.

Suvarṇagiri is mentioned in Minor Rock Edict I (Brahmaṇagiri text) of Asoka. It was a viceregal seat of Asoka's provincial government in the Deccan and here a Kumāra was posted as Viceroy. It is difficult to identify the ancient Suvarṇagiri. Hultzsch (C.I.I., p. XXXVIII), however, identifies it with Kanakagiri in the Nizam's dominions, south of Maski, and north of the ruins of Vijayanagara. Dr. H. C. Ray Chaudhuri thinks that 'a clue to the location of this city is probably given by the inscriptions of the later Mauryas of Konkan and Khandesh, apparently the descendants of the southern Viceroy (Ep. Ind., III, 136). As these later Maurya inscriptions have been found at Vāda in the north of the Thāna district and at Wāghli in Khandesh, it is not unlikely that Suvarṇagiri was situated in the neighbourhood. Curiously enough there is actually in Khandesh a place called Songir.' (PHAI., p. 195, f.n. 3.)

Isila was another seat of government in the Deccan ruled over by a Mahāmātra. Isila is not yet identified, but may have been the ancient name of Siddāpura.

Thera Rakkhita was sent as a missionary to Vanavāsi for the spread of Buddhism there (Mv., Chap. XII). During the Buddhist period as also afterwards, Northern Canara was known as Vanavāsi. According to Dr. Buhler, it was situated between the Ghats, Tungabhadra and Barodā. The Sācanavāsi (p. 12) also

refers to a country called Vanavāsi which, however, is identical with the country round Prome in Lower Burma.

According to the Sarabhaṅga Jātaka (Jāt., V, p. 132) it is a river near the Kavīṭṭha forest. The Rivers, Lakes, etc.— Godāvarī is considered to be one of the holiest rivers in Southern India, and had its source in Brahmagiri situated on the side of a village called Tryamvaka which is twenty miles from Nāsika.

The river Narbuda is referred to in the Kakkāta Jātaka (Jāt., II, p. 344) as well as in the Cittā Narmadā or Narbuda. Sambhūta Jātaka (Jāt., IV, p. 392). It rises in the Amarakanṭaka mountain and falls into the Gulf of Cambay.

In the Saṅkhapāla Jātaka (Jāt., V, p. 162) we are told that the Mahīnsaka kingdom was near Hills, Caves, etc.— the Mount Candaka. It is stated that the Candaka. Bodhisatta built a hut of leaves in the Mahīnsaka kingdom, near the Mount Candaka, in a bend of the river Kannapannā, where it issues out of the lake Saṅkhapāla. It is the Malaya-giri, the Malabar Ghats.

Ghanasela. In the southern country in the kingdom of Avanti is the Ghanasela mountain (Jāt., V, p. 133).

Parks, Forests and Jungles—Dāṇḍa-kāraṇī. The Dāṇḍakāraṇī is mentioned in the Milindapañho (p. 130). According to Mr. Pargiter, it comprised all the forests from Bundelkhand to the river Krishnā.

It is referred to in the Milindapañho (p. 130). According to Cunningham, the Kālingāraṇī lay between the Godāvarī river on the south-west, and Gaoliya branch of the Indrāvati river on the north-west (CAGI., p. 591). According to Rapson, however, it was between the Mahānadi and the Godāvarī. (Ancient India, p. 116)

## CHAPTER V

### PRĀCYA OR THE EASTERN COUNTRY

The Prācyā country lay to the east of Madhyadeśā, but as the eastern boundary of the Madhyadeśā Boundaries changed from time to time, the western boundary of the Prācyā country consequently diminished. According to Vaśiṣṭha, Baudhāyana, Manu, and the Kurmavibhāga, the Prācyā country lay to the east of Prayāga. But according to the Kāvyamimāṃsā, it was to the east of Benares ('Vārāṇasyāḥ parataḥ Pūrvadeśāḥ'), while according to the Commentary on the Vātsyāyana Sūtra, it lay to the east of Anga.

According to the Buddhist tradition recorded in the Mahāvagga and Divyāvadāna, the western boundary of the Pūrvadeśā shranked still more; and extended to Kajangala (Mahāvagga) or Pundravardhana (Dvd.). According to Yuan Chwang as well the western boundary of the Eastern country extended up to Pundravardhana.

The Samantapāsādikā (pp. 96-97) tells us that Asoka requested by King Devānampiyatissa of Janapadas, Puras, etc. —Tāmalitti. Ceylon sent a branch of the Bodhi-tree to Ceylon. It is said that Asoka from Pāṭaliputta taking with him the branch, crossed the Ganges by boat, and then traversing the Vinjhātāvi, reached Tāmalitti, a great seaport town of the time. It was from this port that the branch of the Bodhi-tree was taken to Ceylon on a sea-going vessel. Tāmalitti is modern Tamluk. It was formerly on the mouth of the Ganges. It is now situated on the western bank of the Rūpnārāyana, formed by the united stream of the Silai (Silāwati) and Dalkisor (Dvārikeśvari) in the district of Mīdnapore. Tāmalitti (Mahitthiyaka) is also referred to in the Ceylonese Chronicles (Dv., p. 28, Mv., p. 93).

In the Mahāvamsa we find a reference to the kingdom of Vāṅga and of its King Sihabāhu. Sihabāhu's son Vijaya transplanted a new kingdom in Laṅkā or Ceylon. In the Milindapañhī (p. 359) we read of sailors going on boats to Vāṅga. The Vāṅga tribe is also mentioned in the Mahāvagga of the Anguttara Nikāya (I, p. 213). There is a doubtful mention of the Vāṅga tribe in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa. But it is probable that the name Upasena Vāṅgāntaputta had something to do with the Vāṅga kingdom. In the Dipavamsa (p. 54) the reference is to Vāṅga, i.e., the Vāṅga tribe or people and not Vāṅga.

Vāṅga is, however, identical with modern Eastern Bengal. It did not stand as a name for the entire province as it does now.

Vardhamānapura is referred to in the Dipavāsas, p. 82. It is the Vardhamāna or Vardhamāna-Vardhamānapura. It is the bhūkti of later inscriptions, and is identical with modern Burdwan.

According to the Mahāvagga, Kajangala formed the western boundary of the Pūrvadeśa. It is Kajangala. the Ka-chu-wen-ki-lo of Yuan Chwang and is to be located somewhere in the Rājmahal district. It is the Kayaṅgala of the Commentary on the Rāmapālacakita.

## CHAPTER VI

### CEYLON, BURMA AND OTHER FOREIGN COUNTRIES

In the Bāveru Jātaka (Jāt., Vol. III, p. 126) we find a reference to a kingdom named Bāveru. Countries, Provinces, Cities, Villages, etc.— We are told that there existed a trade relation between Bāveru and India. The Bāveru journey was through water. Bāveru is identified with ancient Babylon.

Some of the Theris whose verses are preserved in the Therigāthā were born in the city of Hamsāvati. Hamsāvati. The names of those theris are: Dhammadinnā, Ubbiriyā and Selā (Theri G.C., pp. 15, 53, 61). It is difficult to identify Hamsāvati with any known locality in India though it is generally known that there was a place somewhere in India. There was also a city of this name in Lower Burma, and the city is said to be identical with Pegu. The thera Mahinda, son of Asoka the Great, was instrumental in spreading Buddhism in Lankā-dipa. The Dipavāma, the Mahāvāma and other works give a history of the kingdom of Laṅkā. It is modern Ceylon.

The theras Sona and Uttara are said to have propagated Buddhism in Suvaṇṇabhūmi, which is identical with Lower Burma (Pegu and Moulmein Districts). According to the Sāsanavāma (p. 10) Suvaṇṇabhūmi is Sudhammanagore, that is, Thaton at the mouth of the Sittaung river.

Tambapanni is mentioned in Rock Edicts II and XIII of Asoka as one of the Pracharita desas. Tambapanni along with Coda, Pāndya, Satiyaputta, Keralaputta and the realm of Antiyako Yonarājā with which Asoka was in friendly relations. Dr. Smith, however, identifies the word to mean not Ceylon but the river Tāmraparnī in Tinnevelly (Asoka, 3rd ed., p. 162). But the more correct identification is Ceylon which was meant in ancient times as Pārasamudra (Gk. Palæsimunda, Ind. Ant., 1919, pp. 195-96) as well as Tāmraparnī (Gk. Taprobane). Ceylon was converted by an Asokan mission headed by Mahinda.

Asoka maintained friendly relations not only with Ceylon and the Tamil powers of the South but also with kings of countries outside India. They were Antiochus Theos, King of Syria and Western India (Antiyako Yonarājā), and even with

the kings and neighbours to the north of the kingdom of Antiochus where dwelt four kings named severally Ptolemy (Turamayo), Antigonos (Amitikini), Magas (Maga or Maka), and Alexander (Alikasudara). Ptolemy Philadelphos was King of Egypt, Magas was King of Cyrene in North Africa, Antigonos Gonatas was King of Macedonia, and Alexander was King of Epirus (Rock Edict XIII). Some think (J.R.A.S., 1914, pp. 943 ff.) that Alikasudara of the Rock Edict XIII is Alexander of Corinth, son of Craterus and not Alexander of Epirus.

Anurādhapura is mentioned in the *Dīpavāmīsa* (pp. 57, 58, etc.). It was the ancient capital of Anurādhapura. Ceylon, but it is now in ruins.

Naggadipa is mentioned in the *Dīpavāmīsa* (p. 55). It was probably an Island in the Arabian Sea. Naggadipa.

Dvāramandala is mentioned in the *Mahāvāmīsa* (p. 77). Dvāramandala. It is near the Cetiyapabbata mountain (Mihintale), east of Anurādhapura.

The Pulindas are mentioned as a barbarous tribe dwelling in the country inland between Colombo, Pulindas. Kalutara, Galle and the mountains (Mv.,

Geiger, tr., p. 60, note 5).

Ambatthala is mentioned in the *Mahāvāmīsa*, p. 102. It is Ambatthala immediately below the Mihintale mountain, Ceylon.

Besides these, there are a number of references to countries and places of Ceylon of lesser importance. They have all been noticed and identified in Geiger's translation of the *Mahāvāmīsa*.

Rivers, Lakes, Tanks, etc.—*Kalyāni*. *Kalyāni*, a river in Ceylon (Jāt., Vol. II, p. 128). It is modern Kālāni-Gangā.

Kadambanadi Kadamba Nadi. Kadambanadi is mentioned in the *Mahāvāmīsa* (p. 66) whereas the *Dīpavāmīsa* refers to the same river as Kadambaka (p. 82). It is identical with the modern Malwatte-oya which flows by the ruins of Anurādhapura, Ceylon.

(*Mahāvāmīsa*, p. 258)—It is the modern Kirinda-oya in the southern province of Ceylon where is located the Pañjalipabbata.

Gambhīra Nadi. (Mahāvāmīsa, p. 66)—It flows seven or eight miles north of Anurādhapura, Ceylon.

Gonaka Nadi or Honaka. (Mahāvāmīsa, p. 290)—It is the modern Kalu-oya river in Ceylon.

Mahāgangā. (Mahāvāmīsa, p. 82)—identical with the modern Mahāwæligangā river in Ceylon.

(*Dipavamsa*, p. 25 and *Mahāvamsa*, p. 10)—It is probably the modern Kandiya-Katṭu tank in the eastern province of Ceylon.

(*Mahāvamsa*, p. 299)—It was built by King Dhātusena by banking up the river Kaļu-oya or Gonanadi.

Tissavāpi. (*Mahāvamsa*, p. 160)—It is a tank near Mahāgāma, Ceylon.

Manihīrā. (*Mahāvamsa*, p. 324)—It is the modern Minneriya, a tank near Polonnaruwa, Ceylon.

Forests, Mountains, etc.—Malaya. (*Dipavamsa*, p. 60 and *Mahāvamsa*, p. 69)—It is central mountain region in the interior of Ceylon.

(*Dipavamsa*, p. 101 and *Mahāvamsa*, p. 275)—It is outside the north gate of the ruined city of Anurādhapura, Ceylon.

(*Dipavamsa*, p. 89 and *Mahāvamsa*, p. 102)—It is the northern peak of the Mihintale mountain, Ceylon.

(*Dipavamsa*, p. 84 and *Mahāvamsa*, p. 130)—It is the later name of the Missaka mountain, Ceylon.

Missakagiri (*Dipavamsa*, p. 64) or Missakapabbata (*Mahāvamsa*, p. 101). It is the modern Mihintale mountain east of Anurādhapura, Ceylon.

(*Dipavamsa*, p. 69 and *Mahāvamsa*, p. 126)—It stretched between Mahāmeghavana where now the Mahāvihāra stands, and the southern wall of the city of Anurādhapura, Ceylon.

Mahāmeghavana. (*Mahāvamsa*, p. 10)—It stretched south of the capital city of Anurādhapura, Ceylon.

Cetiyanā, Ārāmas, Viñāras, etc.—Ākāsa Cetiya. (*Mahāvamsa*, p. 172)—It was situated on the summit of a rock not very far from the Cittalapabbata monastery, Ceylon.

Pathama Cetiya. (*Mahāvamsa*, p. 107)—It was situated outside the eastern gate of the city of Anurādhapura, Ceylon.

Thūpārāma vihāra. (*Mahāvamsa*, p. 324)—It was a vihāra in Anurādhapura.

Tissamahāvihāra. (*Mahāvamsa*, p. 172)—It was located in South Ceylon, north-east of Hambantota.

Jetavanavihāra. (*Mahāvamsa*, p. 322)—It was situated near the Abhayagiri dagoba in Anurādhapura, Ceylon.

Besides these, there are a number of references to cetiyas, ārāmas, vihāras, forests, mountains, rivers, tanks, etc., of Ceylon of lesser importance. They have all been noticed and identified in Geiger's translation of the *Mahāvamsa*.

## APPENDIX

### A note on the Cetiya in the Buddhist Literature<sup>1</sup>

The word 'cetiya' has been used in the Buddhist Literature in more senses than one. 'Cetiya' (sans. Caitya) in its most common sense has come to mean a 'shrine' associated with Buddhism; but the word in its original use was not exclusively Buddhist, for there are references to Brahmanical and Jaina Cetiyas<sup>2</sup> as well. Thus the word must have been originally used in the sense of any sacred spot or edifice or sanctuary meant for popular worship. Later, in Buddhist times, the word came to be used as a most general term for any Buddhist sanctuary.

The Digha Nikāya informs us that the Buddha dwelt at the Ānanda Cetiya in Bhojanagara and there he addressed the Bhikkhus on the subject of four great authorities (cattāro mahāpadese).<sup>3</sup> While dwelling in this shrine, the Master gave religious instructions to the assembled Bhikkhus thus, 'this is Sila (conduct), this is Samādhi (concentration), this is Paññā (wisdom)', etc.<sup>4</sup> The Ānanda Cetiya referred to above was a shrine where the Bhikkhus used to assemble to hear the preachings of the Buddha, it may, therefore, possibly mean a vihāra or a monastery. Elsewhere the same authority refers in detail to another Cetiya, the Cāpāla. The Buddha one day went to the Cāpāla shrine to spend the whole day, and Ānanda followed him. To him he said, 'Oh Ānanda, Vesāli is beautiful and beautiful are the Udena, Gotamaka, Sattambaka, Bahuputta, Sārandada, and Cāpāla Cetiyas'.<sup>5</sup> Besides these, the Divyāvadāna mentions two other Caityas (Cetiyas), the Gautamanyagrodha and Makuṭabandhana.<sup>6</sup> It is difficult to

<sup>1</sup> Published in *Studia Indo-Iranica*, Ehrengabe für W. Geiger, 1931. (Geiger Commemoration Volume) but reprinted here with slight modifications.

<sup>2</sup> In the Pitakas, Cetiya means a popular shrine unconnected with either Buddhist or Brahmanical ceremonial, sometimes perhaps merely a sacred tree or stone, probably honoured by such simple rites as decorating it with paint or flowers (Ehot, Hinduism and Buddhism, Vol. II, pp. 171-72). Jaina Cetiyas are not as big as the Buddhist but in other respects the Jaina shrine resembles the Buddhist very strongly. (Stevenson, Heart of Jainism, p. 280). In Sanskrit the word Cetiya (Caitya) means a tomb, or an altar, and a stūpa or mound which is also called dagoba from Sanskrit *dehagopā* (Mitra—Bodhgaya, p. 119).

<sup>3</sup> DN., II, p. 123. <sup>4</sup> Ibid., II, p. 126

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., II, p. 102. These are all pre-Buddhistic Cetiyas (Pāli Dictionary by Rhys Davids and Stede, p. 104).

<sup>6</sup> Dvd., p. 201.

ascertain what kind or kinds of cetiyas these were; but it is striking to note that most of them were denoted to commemorate a name or a relic. The Gautama-nyagrodha caitya, it is possible to imagine, refers to a nyagrodha tree shrine which was worshipped by Buddhist devotees. We have abundant references of tree worship in Buddhist art and literature. On the railings of the Bārhut stūpa, and on the gate-way of the Sañchi stūpa, we have reliefs representing sacred trees being worshipped by the people; and nyagrodha is the tree under which Gotama attained sambodhi (enlightenment). The Makutabandhana cetiya must likewise refer to a sacred spot where the head-gear band or the lock of hairdress of the Buddha after he had cut it off with his sword was placed, and which had thus attained a sanctity. In the early days of Buddhism when the worship of any image of the Buddha had not yet been sanctioned, it had been the custom to worship objects—the Bodhi tree, locks of hair, foot-prints, Dhamma-cakka (wheel of law), the alms-bowl or the like that had once been associated with him. In fact on the rails of the Bārhut stūpa, there are reliefs representing these objects being worshipped by the people. The Makutabandhana Cetiya is referred to in the Digha Nikāya<sup>1</sup> as belonging to the Mallas. Every tribe and janapada had cetiyas or sacred shrines of their own which they were required to honour, worship and support. The Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta of the Digha Nikāya informs us thus: 'The Vajjians will surely prosper as long as they honour, esteem, revere and support Vajjian shrines (Vajji-cetiyām) in town or country'.<sup>2</sup> The Buddha while staying at the Sārandada cetiya at Vesāli taught the Vajjians the seven conditions of welfare.<sup>3</sup> The Sārandada cetiya thus seems to be a vihāra or monastery of the Vajjian tribe. The Makutabandhana cetiya<sup>4</sup> had probably the honour of having been the sacred spot where the body of the Master was burnt. For the Digha Nikāya asserts, 'the object of the gods is to carry the dead body of the Blessed One to the Makutabandhana, a cetiya of the Mallas, where the body of the Master will be burnt'.<sup>5</sup> The same authority refers to the Cāpāla cetiya in detail, and relates how here the Buddha thwarted an attempt of Māra, and also rejected the rest of his natural term of life consciously and deliberately.<sup>6</sup> It seems that the Cāpāla cetiya was a vihāra shrine; and our assumption seems to be a correct one when we find a mention of the same shrine in the Divyāvadāna<sup>7</sup> which informs us thus: 'the Master asked Ānanda to go to the Cāpāla shrine where the

<sup>1</sup> DN., II, p 160

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., II, p 75; cf AN, IV, pp 16-17.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid

<sup>4</sup> It is a pre-Buddhistic Cetiya (P.T.S. Dictionary, p 104)

<sup>5</sup> DN., II, p 160

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., II, pp 113-14; cf. Udāna (P.T.S.), p. 64

<sup>7</sup> Dvd., p 207

Bhikkhus were dwelling and the Buddha also directed him to have all those members assembled in the assembly-room of the monastery (Upasthānasālā). That the Sārandada cetiya referred to above cannot but mean a vihāra is clear from a reference in the Anguttara Nikāya<sup>1</sup> wherein it is stated that the five hundred Licchavis once assembled there when a talk arose amongst them about the getting of five jewels which cannot be easily got in this world.

From a reference in the Samyutta Nikāya,<sup>2</sup> it seems that the Bahuputta cetiya of Vesāli was a vihāra or monastery. The Buddha was seen seated in this shrine which was situated midway between Rājagaha and Nālandā. The Buddha lived for some time in the Gotamaka shrine at Vesāli and there he addressed the monks thus: 'I shall teach Dhamma knowing it fully and I shall teach it with cause (sanidānam) and miracle (sappātihāriyam).<sup>3</sup> The same shrine has been referred to in the Vinaya Texts<sup>4</sup> to mean an open shrine, probably a tree. In fact it has been referred to as such by the commentator of the Dhammapada who writes that the Udena and Gotama cetyas are called tree shrines (rukkhacetyāni). People being terrified, desirous of becoming free from fear, and with the object of getting sons take refuge in these shrines.<sup>5</sup> The two shrines have also been referred to in a passage of the Digha Nikāya.<sup>6</sup> An Acelaka had taken upon himself seven rules of life. One of his rules was that he would not go beyond the Udena shrine on the east of Vesāli, the Gotamaka shrine on the south, the Sattamba (or Sattambaka) shrine on the west, and the Bahuputta shrine on the north. This passage indicates the position of these shrines or cetyas at Vesāli. The Manimālaka cetiya in Magadha, the abode of Manibhadda yakkha, where the Master dwelt for some time, also seems from its description to have been a vihāra shrine.<sup>7</sup> The Aggālava cetiya also seems to have been a shrine of the same type.<sup>8</sup> On another occasion the Buddha dwelt with the Bhikkhus at the Supatittha cetiya near the pleasure garden of Laṭṭhivana near Rājagaha, where Bimbisāra, King of Magadha, came to invite him with the congregation of monks.<sup>9</sup> This cetiya must invariably have also been a vihāra.

<sup>1</sup> AN., III, p. 167.

<sup>2</sup> SN., II, p. 220.

<sup>3</sup> AN., I, p. 276.

<sup>4</sup> VT., (S.B.E.), II, pp. 210 foll.

<sup>5</sup> Dh. C., III, p. 246.

<sup>6</sup> DN., III, pp. 9-10.

'Puratthimena Vesāliyam Udenam nāma cetiyam tam nātikkamey-  
yam : dakkhiṇena Vesāliyam Gotamakam nāma cetiyam tam nātikkamey-  
yam : pacchimena Vesāliyam Sattambam nāma cetiyam tam nātikkamey-  
yam : uttarena Vesāliyam Bahuputtam nāma cetiyam tam nātikkamey-  
yam.'

<sup>7</sup> SN., I, p. 208.

<sup>8</sup> AN., IV, pp. 216-17. Cf. Dh. C., Vol. III, pp. 170 ff.

<sup>9</sup> VT., I, pp. 136 ff.

The Jātakas also refer to several cetiyas. Thus in the preamble to the Manikantha Jātaka, reference is made to the Aggālava cetiya<sup>1</sup> where Buddha dwelt for some time and narrated to the Bhikkhus the Manikantha, the Brahmadatta and the Aṭṭhisena Jātakas.<sup>2</sup> It seems from the context of the reference that the cetiya was something of the nature of a cave-dwelling or a vihāra. But a most important reference as to the different kinds of cetiyas is made in the preamble to the Kāliṅga-bodhi Jātaka wherein the Buddha is said to have stated to Ānanda that there were three kinds of cetiyas, cetiyas for a relic of the body, a relic of use or wear, and a relic of memorial. By the first was probably meant a stūpa or dagoba; by the second was meant any shrine that was built for worship of a bowl, a piece of robe or similar things, and by the third was meant any shrine to commemorate an incident or name. The preamble to the same Jātaka states that in reply to a question of Ānanda as to whether a cetiya could be made during a Buddha's lifetime, the Buddha replied that cetiyas for a relic of memorial could be made when a Buddha would attain Nirvāṇa; but cetiyas for a relic of memorial were improper because the connection depended on the imagination only. But the great Bodhi tree used by the Buddhas was fit for a shrine, were they alive or dead.<sup>3</sup> Notwithstanding this injunction with regard to commemorative cetiyas, there were nevertheless cetiyas made for a relic of memorial of which instances have already been cited above. Cetiyas were made in respect of much more trifling objects too; for instance, it is recorded that when Gotama had finished his bath just before he was to take the food offered by Sujātā, hundreds of thousands of devas came to the river to pick up flowers in order that they might raise cetiyas over them and worship them.<sup>4</sup> These cetiyas undoubtedly refer to stūpas. The Mahāvastu refers to a Vahudeva Caitya which seems to be a cave-dwelling or a vihāra shrine.<sup>5</sup> The Apadāna mentions two cetiyas namely, Buddha-cetiya and Sikkhīcetiya (pt. I., pp. 72 and 255). The Dhammapada commentary refers to a shrine called Aggālava where the Buddha is said to have spoken about a weaver's daughter who listening to the Master's religious discourse was established in the fruition of the first stage of sanctification.<sup>6</sup> The same authority refers to a golden cetiya (Suvanna cetiya) that was being built for Kassapa Buddha who was endowed with ten potentialities. Members of the good families of Benares with

<sup>1</sup> It is a pre-Buddhistic cetiya (Pāli Dictionary by Rhys Davids and Stede, p. 104).

<sup>2</sup> Jāt., II, p. 282; Ibid., III, pp. 78, 351.

<sup>3</sup> Jāt., IV, p. 228.

<sup>4</sup> Mitra—Bodhgayā, p. 30.

<sup>5</sup> Law—A Study of the Mahāvastu, p. 153. Cf. Mahāvastu (Senart's Ed.), III, p. 303.

<sup>6</sup> Dh. C., III, pp. 170 ff.

cart-loads of food came to the cetiya to do the work of labourers.<sup>1</sup> The golden cetiya can only refer to a stūpa shrine.

In the *Samantapāśādikā* (commentary on the *Vinaya-pitaka*), the *Sāsanavamsa*, the *Mahābodhivamsa*, the *Dāthāvamsa*, the *Cūlavamsa* as well as the *Sammohavinodani* (the commentary on the *Vibhaṅga*) and the *Manorathapūraṇi* (the commentary on the *Ānguttara Nikāya*) there are references to a large number of cetiyas of Ceylon. The shrine which was built on the spot where the Theras first alighted in Ceylon is called the *Pathama cetiya*,<sup>2</sup> which probably refers to a stūpa or dagoba. A pious Sāmanera once put three stone slabs to form steps to the courtyard of an ākāsa cetiya (sky shrine) which probably refers to a tree or stūpa shrine.<sup>3</sup> The Buddha along with 500 Bhikkhus is said to have visited the *Mahācetiya*, *Dīghavāpicetiya*, and *Kalyāṇi cetiya*<sup>4</sup> which probably refer to stūpa or vihāra shrines. The *Thūpārāma cetiya* which is a vihāra shrine still exists. The same authority refers to a cetiya near *Anurādhapura* where some Theras descended from the sky,<sup>5</sup> as also to a golden cetiya built by prince *Uttara*.<sup>6</sup> The golden shrine probably refers to a stūpa which in Ceylon came popularly to be known as a dagoba. The *Kaṇṭaka cetiya* was visited and circumambulated by *Asoka* before entering the city of *Anurādhapura*<sup>7</sup>; this cetiya in all probability refers to a stūpa or tree shrine round which there must have been a *pradaksīna* (*padakkhiṇa*) courtyard. The *Sammohavinodani* enjoins upon all visitors to a cetiya to go thrice round it and worship it.<sup>8</sup> It is apparent from this statement that there was probably a passage of circumambulation round each shrine. The *Sāsanavamsa* refers to several cetiyas, e.g., the *Pāda cetiya*,<sup>9</sup> the *Ratana*<sup>10</sup> cetiya and a host of others, but it is difficult to ascertain the exact nature of these cetiyas. The *Mahābodhivamsa* refers to the *Dīghavāpicetiya* and *Silācetiya* (p. 132), which were visited by the Buddha before he went to the continent of India. The *Mahācetiya* was also visited by *Asoka* where he saw a therā worshipping and saluting it with flowers (*Samantapāśādikā*, Vol. I, p. 101). This great shrine acquired a great sanctity as it was saluted by a large number of monks every day in the evening. In fact salutation to the Cetiyas is a religious duty of a Buddhist. We read in the *Sammohavinodani* (p. 292) that a therā who is free from sins salutes a great shrine. Even the sight of a shrine is considered to be auspicious (*Sammohavinodani*, p. 348: *Cetiyyadassanām*

<sup>1</sup> *Dh. C.*, IV, p. 64.

<sup>2</sup> *MV.*, XIV, 44-45 verses; Cf. *Samantapāśādikā*, I, p. 79.

<sup>3</sup> *MV.*, 22, verse 26.

<sup>4</sup> *Samantapāśādikā*, I, p. 89.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 79.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, III, p. 544.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, I, p. 82.

<sup>8</sup> *Sammohavinodani*, p. 349.

<sup>9</sup> *SV.*, p. 115.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 91.

sātthān). The Dāthāvansā mentions Cūlamāṇi cetiya which must have referred to a stūpa or dagoba; for it is described therein to have contained within it an excellent golden casket in which had been placed the lock of hair of prince Siddhārtha which he had cut off with a sharp sword, and which had been taken by Sakka.<sup>1</sup> The same authority refers also to the Kalyāṇi, Thūpa, and Thūpārāma cetiyas of Ceylon.<sup>2</sup> The Thūpa cetiya from its very name seems to have been a stūpa or dagoba shrine; whereas the Thūpārāma, again from its very name, was most probably a vihāra shrine. In the Manorathapūraṇi reference is made to two cetiyas, the Ākāsa cetiya (i.e., the cetiya erected by Inda, in the sky on the hair of the Bodhisatta cut off on the bank of the river Anomā) and the Mahācetiya worshipped by a minister.<sup>3</sup> Both the shrines seem to refer to stūpas or dagobas. The Cūlavansā also refers to a large number of cetiyas of Ceylon. Thus it states that the city of Ceylon was once decorated up to the Ambathalā cetiya.<sup>4</sup> Elsewhere reference is made to the Maṅgala cetiya to the north of which king Upatissa built a thūpa, an image and a room for keeping the image.<sup>5</sup> Mention is also made of the Bahumāṅgala cetiya, the three great cetiyas,<sup>6</sup> the Amala cetiya,<sup>7</sup> the Hema-vāluka cetiya where an anointment ceremony was performed,<sup>8</sup> the Ratanavāluka cetiya where meritorious deeds were performed<sup>9</sup> and the Ratanāvalli cetiya which was very extensive.<sup>10</sup> Another cetiya is said to have been destroyed by the Damilas.<sup>11</sup> It is difficult to ascertain exactly the nature of these cetiyas, but most of them, it seems from their contexts, were stūpa shrines.

That the cetiyas also referred to assembly halls as distinguished from stūpas and vihāras is illustrated by extant rock-cut Buddhist assembly-halls at Nāsik, Bhājā, Karle and other places. These assembly-halls are still known as Caityas or Cetiyas. These halls are, in fact, rock-cut caves of an apsidal form with a small dagoba or stūpa at the end of the apse, in front of which there was the pillared hall for the assembly of worshippers. The vihāras which were either rock-cut or structural were rather of the nature of dwelling halls whereas the stūpas were of the nature of a hemispherical, and later on, cylindrical dome.

Thus it is natural to take the term, cetiya as the most general name for any sanctuary which can well stand for a stūpa, a vihāra, an assembly hall, a tree, a memorial stone, a holy

<sup>1</sup> Dāthāvansā (B. C. Law's edition), p. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., pp. 12-13.

<sup>3</sup> Manorathapūraṇi, Sinhalese ed., p. 207.

<sup>4</sup> CV., I, p. 5 (Cetiyambathalā yāva nagaram sādhu sajjiya).

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., I, p. 14.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., I, p. 27.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., I, p. 53.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., I, p. 131.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., II, p. 388.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., II, p. 449. <sup>11</sup> Ibid., II, p. 388.

relic or object, or place, or even an image. In fact, it may mean any shrine, particularly associated with Buddhism, of any character constructed for purposes of worship or honour, or esteem and regard. Kern is, therefore, right in saying that all edifices having the character of a sacred monument are Caityas, but not all Caityas are edifices.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p. 91. Eliot thinks that in Buddhist times the Cetiya became a reliquary or cenotaph generally located near a monastery and surrounded by a passage for reverential circumambulation. (*Hinduism and Buddhism*, Vol. II, p. 172.) Grünwedel and Burgess, on the other hand, think that the term, caitya is applied to a monument or cenotaph, and in a secondary shrine to a temple or shrine containing a Caitya or *dhātugarba*. The Caityas or dagobas, they think, are an essential feature of temples or chapels, there being a passage for circumambulation round the Caitya or cetiya. According to them the term Caitya, however, applies not only to sanctuaries, but to sacred trees, holy spots and other religious monuments (*Buddhist Art in India*, pp. 20-21). R. C. Chudlers in his Pāli Dictionary (p. 102) means, by the term cetiya, a religious building or shrine, a temple, a thūpa or Buddhist relic shrine, a sacred tree or a tomb. Cetiyyangana means an open courtyard round a cetiya. Cf. the P.T.S. Dictionary 'Cetiya', p. 104.

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## ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

The following books and papers should be consulted :—

1. *Gayā and Buddha-Gayā* by Dr. B. M. Barua is a masterly production on the subject. It is a great improvement made on Dr. Rajendralala's *Buddha-Gayā*. In it the section dealing with *Gayā* in Buddhist Literature should be read by every scholar interested in Buddhist history and geography.
2. *Āṅga and Cāmpā in the Pāli Literature* by B. C. Law published in the J.A.S.B., N.S., Vol. XXI, 1925.
3. *Notes on Ancient Āṅga or the District of Bhagalpur* by Nundolal Dey, J.A.S.B., N.S., Vol. X, 1914.
4. *Taxila as a Seat of Learning in the Pāli Literature* by B. C. Law published in the J.A.S.B., N.S., Vol. XII, 1916.
5. *Data from the Sumaṅgalavilāsini* by B. C. Law published in the J.A.S.B., New Series, Vol. XXI, 1925—Geographical references.
6. *Geographical references in the Bodhisattvāvadāna Kalpalatā* published in the Mahabodhi Journal, September, 1932.
7. *Geographical references in the Mahāvastu otherwise known as 'Geographical Glimpses'* published in the Supplement to my 'Study of the Mahāvastu,' pp. 16-17.

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SKETCH MAP OF ANCIENT INDIA  
SHOWING IMPORTANT CITIES, KINGDOMS,  
RIVERS AND MOUNTAINS KNOWN TO  
THE EARLY GEOPHYSISTS

